

A STUDY OF ABŪ ṬĀLIB AL-MAKKĪ

Saeko Yazaki

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VOLUME I

Aims of the Thesis

Part 1

Part 2

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I, Saeko Yazaki, have written this thesis and that the research upon which it is based is my own work. The thesis has been submitted to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Saeko Yazaki
January, 2010

The purification of Muḥammad's heart by three Divine messengers



The Freer Gallery, 57.16, fol. 138a

ABSTRACT

The aims of this thesis are to evaluate the present status of scholarship on Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) and to expand the basis of further research on him by analysing him in a multi-dimensional way. This study challenges the conventional view that al-Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb* ('The Nourishment of Hearts') is a Sufi work.

Part 1 introduces modern scholarship on al-Makkī. It also demonstrates several issues which are tackled in this thesis. The present study focuses on a metaphorical image of the heart, which is also shared in various cultures. By looking at this common idea, Part 2 first attempts to explore the nature of the *Qūt* within the context of Sufism and religion in general. This part provides a summarised translation of part of the *Qūt*, where the author elucidates his view of the heart. The intention of this annotated translation is to provide easy access to the key thought of al-Makkī in the *Qūt*, for the first time in English, on the basis of a critical edition of this book. Lastly Part 2 discusses the authenticity of al-Makkī's alleged work, *ʿIlm al-qulūb* ('The Knowledge of Hearts').

Part 3 analyses the influence of al-Makkī within and beyond Islam. Considering the limited area of the study of al-Makkī, this part first examines numerous works in various fields from his time until the twelfth/eighteenth century. This is to evaluate how he was perceived in Muslim scholarship and to explore areas which have not been discussed thoroughly before. Finally this thesis looks at the Andalusian Jewish scholar, Ibn Bāqūdā (d. some time after 472/1080) and his book *al-Hidāya ilā farā'id al-qulūb* ('The Right Guidance to the Religious Duties of Hearts'). A possible link between the two authors has been sometimes pointed out; however, it has not been studied exhaustively.

Through exploring various aspects of al-Makkī and his writing, the present thesis attempts to open up the study of the *Qūt* beyond Sufism and to offer an opportunity to give further thought on the essential features of the mystical dimensions of Islam.

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All the people mentioned here have helped me produce this thesis one way or another. Needless to say, all the deficiencies and flaws that remain come from me, probably from my stubbornness in not being able to take advice all the time.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

The transliteration for Arabic used in this thesis follows the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*:

Consonants: ʾ, b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ʿ, gh, f, q, k, l, m, n, h, w, y
Tāʾ marbūʿa: -a (-at in construct state)

Long and short vowels: ā, a, ī, i, ū, u

Diphthongs: ay, aw

Doubled vowels: iyy (final form ī), uww (final form ū)

Definite article: al- and ʾl-

Case endings are only marked when necessary.

Common English names (such as Sufism, Mecca, Jesus) are not transliterated.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Amin	Amin, 'An Evaluation of the <i>Qūt al-qulūb</i> of al-Makkī with an annotated Translation of his <i>Kitāb al-tawba</i> '.
ʿAwārīf	al-Suhrawardī, <i>ʿAwārīf al-maʿārīf</i> .
Concepts	Izutsu, <i>Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qurʾān</i> .
De Slane	Ibn Khallikān, <i>Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary</i> , trans. de Slane.
Dialogue	Lobel, <i>A Sufi-Jewish Dialogue</i> .
Dimensions	Schimmel, <i>Mystical Dimensions of Islam</i> .
Direction	Ibn Bāqūdā, <i>The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart</i> , trans. Mansoor.
Doctrine	al-Kalābādihī, <i>The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs</i> , trans. Arberry.
Early Mystic	Smith, <i>An Early Mystic of Baghdad</i> .
Epistle	al-Qushayrī, <i>al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism</i> , trans. Knysh.
Esc	pseudo-al-Makkī, <i>ʿIlm al-qulūb</i> , Escorial Library, Ms. árabe 739.
EI ¹	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 1 st ed.
EI ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2 nd ed.
EI ³	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 3 rd ed.
EQ	<i>Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān</i> .
Fatāwā	Ibn Taymiyya, <i>Majmūʿ fatāwā</i> .
Futūḥāt	Ibn al-ʿArabī, <i>al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya</i> .
GAL	Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</i> .
GAS	Sezgin, <i>Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums</i> .
Gedankenwelt	van Ess, <i>Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārīt al-Muḥāsibī</i> .
Ghunya	ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, <i>Ghunya li-ṭālibī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq</i> .
God and Man	Izutsu, <i>God and Man in the Koran</i> .
Hava	Hava, <i>al-Faraid Arabic-English Dictionary</i> .
Hidāja	Ibn Bāqūdā, <i>al-Hidāja ilā farāʾid al-qulūb</i> .
Iḥyāʾ	al-Ghazālī, <i>Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn</i> .
ʿIlm	pseudo-al-Makkī, <i>ʿIlm al-qulūb</i> (2004).
ʿIlm (1964)	<i>ibid.</i> (1964).
Kashf	Hujwīrī, <i>Kashf al-mahjūb</i> , trans. Nicholson.
Kazimirski	Kazimirski, <i>Dictionnaire Arabe-Français</i> .
Knowledge	Renard, <i>Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism</i> .
Lane	Lane, <i>An Arabic-English Lexicon</i> .
Lumaʿ	al-Sarrāj, <i>The Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fiʾl-taṣawwuf</i> .
Mawsūʿa	al-Zuhīlī, <i>al-Mawsūʿat al-Qurʾāniyyat al-muyassara</i> .
Mīzān	al-Dhahabī, <i>Mīzān al-iʿtidāl</i> .
Munqidh	al-Ghazālī, <i>al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl</i> .
Muntazam	Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>al-Muntazam fī taʾrīkh al-mulūk waʾl-umam</i> .

<i>Mustarshid</i>	al-Muḥāsibī, <i>Risālat al-mustarshid</i> .
<i>Mu'tamad</i>	Ibn al-Farrā', <i>al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn</i> .
<i>Mysticism</i>	Knysh, <i>Islamic Mysticism</i> .
<i>Nahrung</i>	al-Makkī, <i>Die Nahrung der Herzen</i> , trans. Gramlich.
<i>Pūrvavādī</i>	Pūrvavādī, 'Bāzmāndahā-yi kitāb-i <i>al-Ishāra wa'l-'ibāra</i> -i Abū Sa'd-i Khargūshī dar kitāb-i ' <i>Ilm al-qulūb</i> '.
<i>Qūt</i>	al-Makkī, <i>Qūt al-qulūb</i> (2001). (Other editions will be referred with the year of publication, as with the case with the ' <i>Ilm</i> .)
<i>Rasā'il</i>	al-Rundī, <i>al-Rasā'il al-ṣuḡhrā</i> .
<i>Ri'āya</i>	al-Muḥāsibī, <i>Kitāb al-ri'āya li-ḥuqūq Allāh</i> .
<i>Risāla</i>	al-Qushayrī, <i>al-Risālat al-Qushayriyya</i> .
<i>Satan</i>	Awn, <i>Satan's Tragedy and Redemption</i> .
<i>Shukri</i>	Shukri, 'The Mystical Doctrine of Abū Tālib al-Makkī as found in his Book <i>Qūt al-qulūb</i> '.
<i>Ṣifa</i>	Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Ṣifat al-ṣifwa</i> .
<i>Steingass</i>	Steingass, <i>A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary</i> .
<i>Sufism (A)</i>	Arberry, <i>Sufism</i> .
<i>Sufism (K)</i>	Karamustafa, <i>Sufism</i> .
<i>Ta'arruf</i>	al-Kalābādī, <i>al-Ta'arruf li-madhhab ahal al-taṣawwuf</i> .
<i>Taimīya</i>	Laoust, <i>Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Takī-d-Dīn Ahmad b. Taimīya</i> .
<i>Talbīs</i>	Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Talbīs Iblīs</i> .
<i>Talqīh</i>	Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Talqīh fuhūm ahl al-athar fī 'uyūn al-ta'rīkh wa'l-siyar</i> .
<i>Ta'rīkh</i>	al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, <i>Ta'rīkh Baghdād</i> .
<i>Théologie</i>	Vajda, <i>La théologie ascétique de Baḥya ibn Paquda</i> .
<i>Theology</i>	Izutsu, <i>The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology</i> .
<i>Vision</i>	Böwering, <i>The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam</i> .
<i>Wafayāt</i>	Ibn Khallikān, <i>Wafayāt al-a'yān</i> .

Chapter and verse numbers of the Qur'ān follow:

The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an, trans. Pickthall.

The translations of the Qur'anic verses are cited from Pickthall's interpretation, unless specified. Two more interpretations are consulted in this thesis:

The Koran Interpreted, trans. Arberry;

The Qur'ān, trans. Jones.

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AIMS OF THE THESIS

This thesis evaluates the present status of scholarship on Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), generally regarded as one of the earliest writers to have composed a ‘Sufi manual’ in order to systematise mystical traditions in Islam.¹ His fame lies in his treatise *Qūt al-qulūb* (‘The Nourishment of Hearts’), as well as its influence upon *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* (‘The Revivification of the Religious Sciences’), written by the well-known Islamic thinker Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111). While not as renowned as al-Ghazālī, the significance of al-Makkī’s writing has made him famous among researchers on Sufism and he is frequently referred to in history and in modern scholarship (mainly on Sufism but not limited to this).

Nevertheless, there are many gaps in the scholarship on al-Makkī. First of all, there seem to be only a few works that carry out critical analysis of al-Makkī and his writing. There are two unpublished PhD theses in English which focus particularly on al-Makkī, and two articles based on these two theses.² Concerning al-Makkī’s work, there is a complete German translation of the *Qūt* by Gramlich and an English translation of a section of the *Qūt* by Renard.³

In addition to the paucity of scholarship on al-Makkī, there is another issue to consider, which revolves around al-Makkī’s major work, the *Qūt*. Renard mentions

¹ *Mysticism*, 121.

² Shukri; Amin. Their articles are: Shukri, ‘al-Makkī and his *Qūt*’, 1989; and Amin, ‘al-Makkī’, 1999. (Except where the text requires it, full bibliographical information appears only in the bibliography.) The theses are difficult to obtain, and although the articles should be more accessible they do not seem to have been widely used.

³ *Nahrung*, 4 vols.; *Knowledge*, 112-263. These are the major published translations.

the lack of a critical edition of the book,¹ despite the fact that many copies of the *Qūt* have been published since the end of the nineteenth century. While various editions exist, the oldest copy, published in 1892-3, seems to have served as the basis of many later versions, and most western scholarship relies on one of these uncritical editions. In relation to al-Makkī's writing, the next problem concerns his alleged work, *ʿIlm al-qulūb* ('The Knowledge of Hearts'). Questions have sometimes been raised regarding its authenticity; however, the matter has not been analysed well enough.

A fourth issue is the limited area that has been thoroughly explored in the study of al-Makkī. Apart from his impact on the *Iḥyāʾ*, none of the above-mentioned studies undertakes careful examination of al-Makkī's legacy within the history of Islam – his influence, for example, on Sufis such as al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) and Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390), or on Ḥanbalī scholars such as Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328).² None of these studies mentions al-Makkī's possible link with a Jewish scholar in Islamic Spain, Baḥyā Ibn Bāqūdā (d. some time after 472/1080), and his book *Kitāb al-hidāya ilā farāʾiḍ al-qulūb* ('Book of the Right Guidance to the Religious Duties of Hearts'), although the possibility of such a link has sometimes been discussed in Jewish studies.

The last question which will be addressed in this study of al-Makkī (and which will be the underlying theme throughout this thesis) is how to study al-Makkī and his work. As mentioned, al-Makkī is generally referred to as an early Sufi

¹ *Knowledge*, 33. Böwering also mentions the unreliability of the printed copy of the *Qūt* (*Vision*, 36).

² These names are referred to but the issues are not analysed extensively.

theorist, together with his two contemporaries, al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), who wrote *Kitāb luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf* ('The Book of Sparkling Lights in Sufism'), and al-Kalābādhī (d. ca. 385/995), who composed *Kitāb al-ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* ('The Book of Acquaintance with the Path of Sufis'). Although the *Qūt*, the *Luma'* and *al-Ta'arruf* are usually regarded as paradigms of the early mystical guidebook in Islam,¹ various issues should be taken into consideration before accepting this classification. The contents of the *Qūt* are broader and more practical than the other two writings, whose main focus is the theoretical aspect of Sufism. The aims of each book seem to vary, and a comparison between the three should be carried out with care.

The *Qūt* contains a wide range of topics, and could be regarded as dealing with morals and ethics in general, rather than with Sufism. It centres on the question of how to define mysticism in Islam; unfortunately, however, the quest for the meaning of mysticism is beyond the scope of this thesis. One thing which should be borne in mind is the possible gap between the image of Sufism in twenty-first century western academic scholarship, and al-Makkī's own way of viewing it.

Considering these five issues, the focus of the present study is divided into three main parts. The first part introduces the study of al-Makkī. Chapter 1 explores modern scholarship on al-Makkī, and evaluates how he has been discussed. Chapter 2 focuses on research that examines al-Makkī in particular, and looks at translations of the *Qūt*. The aims of the first two chapters are to collate data and evaluate the

¹ *Dimensions*, 85.

current state of scholarship on al-Makkī in order to lay the groundwork for further study.

The second part focuses on the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*. Chapter 3 introduces the former and attempts to contextualise this work by exploring its contents and comparing al-Makkī with his contemporaries. Chapter 4 provides a summarised translation of an extract from Section 30 of the *Qūt*, where al-Makkī elucidates the role of the heart in religion. The selection of this part of the book for annotated translation is not only because the heart is the core concept of the *Qūt*, as can easily be surmised from the title. It is also because this concept plays a pivotal role in the theory of Sufism, as well as in various other cultures and religious traditions. These chapters should facilitate further research on al-Makkī in comparison with other thinkers' views within and beyond Sufism.

By sheer luck, I found a copy of the *Qūt* (edited by al-Raḍwānī) that appears to be the only version to include descriptions of the manuscripts used in the editing process.¹ This 2001 edition is not referred to in the above-listed studies, but it should be used in the future. The summarised translation of an extract from the *Qūt* in this thesis will be the first English translation based on this edition. Although numerous manuscripts exist,² the manuscripts that form the basis of this edition are different from those which Gramlich uses in his translation. It is hoped that, together with his

¹ My sincere thanks go to Ustadh Irfan al-Misri of L'Institut français du Proche-Orient at Damascus, who let me know about this edition, and my friend Mr Fadi al-Fatayri, who obtained this volume for me.

² *GAL*, 1.217, SI.359-60; *GAS*, 1.666-7.

complete German translation, my annotated translation will be able to offer easy access to the core idea of the *Qūt* on the basis of a properly edited copy of the original text.

Chapter 5 focuses on the question of the authenticity of the *ʿIlm* through an analysis of both external and internal evidence. After introducing modern scholarship on the *ʿIlm*, this chapter first examines its extant manuscripts and contents. It goes on to compare the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* through a study of their aims, structure and approach, and the religious authorities cited in both works.

The third part discusses the influence of al-Makkī. It first examines how he was perceived in the course of Islamic history from his own time to the eighteenth century. Chapter 6 analyses *ṭabaqāt* dictionaries which mention al-Makkī and works on Sufism. Chapter 7 studies *ḥadīth* literature and other sources which refer to al-Makkī, in order to analyse what sort of influence al-Makkī had.

The last chapter shifts the focus from Islam to Judaism and explores the possible link between al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā. First, the chapter introduces this Jewish judge and his book, and goes on to compare the works of al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā through an analysis of their aims, structure and approach, and their key theme – the heart. This chapter also analyses the difficulties in establishing connections between these two authors, including the use of Judaeo-Arabic and the shared heritage between Judaism and Islam.

The aims of the present thesis are to provide a solid basis for the study of al-Makkī in further research, and to present him in a multi-dimensional way through his own writing and the views of the later scholars who wrote about him. Throughout this thesis, an attempt is made to avoid pigeonholing al-Makkī simply as a Sufi, a Traditionist or anything else. Instead of classifying this historical figure according to the current state of scholarship, the present study tries to look at al-Makkī as the measure of the man himself, and examines how he has been viewed later, despite – or because of – the way he projects himself in his writing.

Finally, it is hoped that this thesis (especially the last chapter) will problematise the question of how to study Sufism. Islamic mysticism is a complex phenomenon with various social locations and dimensions. Its forms are constantly changing. Although mysticism is in general considered to be universal, it has to be expressed in a particular language within a particular context. Regardless of the question of whether al-Makkī considers himself as a Sufi, he uses certain terms which are often used by Sufis, and he argues within the frame of Islam. Despite this, his thought can be seen as transferable into intellectual and religious traditions beyond Islam. This might be partly because of the nature of mysticism and monotheistic traditions. I hope this thesis will provide an opportunity to give further thought to the study of Sufism, and mysticism in general.

PART 1:

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF AL-MAKKĪ

INTRODUCTION: THE LIFE OF AL-MAKKĪ

The life of al-Makkī

Before examining modern scholarly works on al-Makkī in detail, this section first introduces al-Makkī himself. Unfortunately, little is left for us to reconstruct his life story. Al-Makkī appears in many biographical dictionaries; however, these reports are in general highly repetitive, and the weight of numbers does not count for a great deal in building up a picture of al-Makkī's personal life. Among modern scholarship on al-Makkī, Shukri studies the historical background of al-Makkī's time, his life and education,¹ and these are also briefly examined by Amin,² Gramlich,³ Böwering,⁴ Knysh,⁵ Raḍwānī⁶ and Renard.⁷

This section attempts to collate information which is currently scattered across these studies and various *ṭabaqāt* works, especially *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* ('The History of Baghdad') by Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071),⁸ *al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīkh al-duwal wa'l-umam* ('Systematic Arrangement in the History of States and Communities') by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200),⁹ the *Wafayāt al-a'yān* ('Obituaries of Famous People') by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282)¹⁰ and *Nafaḥāt al-uns* ('Breezes of

¹ Shukri, 4-38.

² Amin, 1-16.

³ *Nahrung*, 1.11-13.

⁴ *Vision*, 25-6.

⁵ *Mysticism*, 121-2.

⁶ *Qūt*, 1.6-10.

⁷ *Knowledge*, 33-5. See also *Qūt* (2005) 1.6; *Ilm*, 10.

⁸ *Ta'rīkh*, 3.89.

⁹ *Muntaẓam*, 7.189-90.

¹⁰ *Wafayāt*, 4.303-4.

Intimacy'), by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492).¹

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyya al-Ḥārithī al-Wā'iz al-Makkī was born in Jabal. The exact birthplace and date are unknown. Jabal, or Jibāl, is a large area between Iraq and Khurasan and is also called *'Irāq al-'ajam*, or *'Irāq 'ajamī*, i.e., Persian or non-Arab Iraq.² Apart from al-Ḥārithī and al-Wā'iz, he has another *nisba*, al-'Ajamī,³ which is in accord with the description of Jabal. Al-Makkī is commonly known by this last *nisba*, or his *kunya*, Abū Ṭālib.

Many sources indicate that al-Makkī grew up in Mecca, where he received his early education. He then left for Basra, one of the greatest intellectual and commercial centres at that time. None of the biographical dictionaries suggests the possible date when he departed from Mecca. According to al-Khaṭīb,⁴ Ibn al-Jawzī⁵ and Ibn Khallikān,⁶ al-Makkī entered Basra after the death of Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Sālim (d. ca. 356/967), a leader of the Sālimiyya school. This report, however, contradicts other biographical accounts,⁷ as well as the testimony of al-Makkī himself, who mentions his personal meetings with Ibn Sālim.⁸ Although it is not

¹ Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 121. Translations of these key four historical sources are provided in Appendix I.

² This region has a number of large cities, such as Hamadhan, Isfahan and so on (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 3.50-1; *Wafayāt*, 4.79); cf. *EF*², s.v. 'Djibāl' (L. Lockhart).

³ *Qūt*, 1.6; *Nahrung*, 1.11. Cf. the *Qūt (Damascus, n.d.)*, where the author's name appears as 'al-Shaykh al-Imām Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abbās al-Makkī'. This seems to be the only edition where al-Makkī is called *imām*, not only *shaykh*, and has different names after *ibn*.

⁴ *Ta'rīkh*, 3.89.

⁵ *Talbīs*, 165.

⁶ *Wafayāt*, 4.303.

⁷ Al-Dhahabī, *Ibar*, 2.320; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt*, 2.430.

⁸ *Qūt*, 3.1202, 1318.

clear whether al-Makkī entered before or after the death of Ibn Sālim,¹ it seems certain that al-Makkī affiliated himself with the Sālīmites.

Al-Sālīmiyya is a mystico-theological school at Basra. Its doctrine is based on the teachings of Sahl al-Tustarī, and its name is drawn from his disciples, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d. 297/909) and his son Aḥmad Ibn Sālim. No writing of the father or the son is known and this school has been mainly represented by their opponents’ views.² As Massignon argues, the Sālīmī teachings may be sought in al-Makkī’s writing, as the *Qūt* is filled with the sayings of Sahl al-Tustarī, who is often referred to with an honorific title.³ Although al-Makkī’s relationship with this school seems to be close, his role in the group is not clear⁴ and his wider activities in Basra are not known to us.

Al-Makkī, then, went to Baghdad, which was under Shī‘ite Buwayhid control at the time. The year of his move cannot be fixed with precision. He started to preach there and is reported to have said something apparently so heretical that people left him. His exact words are recorded as follows: ‘Nothing is more harmful

¹ This issue is mentioned by Gramlich (*Nahrung*, 1.11) and Böwering (*Vision*, 26). Amin accepts al-Makkī’s words and claims that the accounts of al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khallikān are ‘incorrect’ on this matter (Amin, 5).

² The most famous example is a Ḥanbalī scholar, Ibn al-Farrā’, who lists eighteen propositions against al-Sālīmiyya (*Mu‘tamad*, 217-21). Hujwārī accuses this group of being ‘anthropomorphists’ (*Kashf*, 131).

³ *El¹* & *El²*, s.vv. (L. Massignon). For the study of al-Sālīmiyya, see Goldziher, ‘Die dogmatische Partei der Sālīmijja’; Massignon, *Essai*, 294-300; *Vision*, esp. 89-99; Shukri, 16-22; Amin, 5-8; *Nahrung*, 1.14-15. Al-Makkī’s contemporary, al-Sarrāj, seems to have frequently attended Ibn Sālim’s gatherings (see Ch. 3.3.1).

⁴ Al-Makkī might have been the head of the school (*El¹* & *El²*, s.vv. ‘al-Makkī’ (L. Massignon); *El¹*, s.v. ‘Sālīmiyya’ (*idem*)). In medieval sources, al-Dhahabī once describes al-Makkī as the Shaykh of al-Sālīmiyya (*Ibar*, 3.34), while other accounts just mention his affiliation with this school, as seen in the previous section.

to the created beings than the Creator'.¹ De Slane, commenting on this, suggests the possibility that al-Makkī meant 'the world (*khalq*)' but mispronounced it as 'the Creator (*khāliq*)'.²

Gramlich argues that if this is really a saying of al-Makkī, he was probably referring to God's omnipotence, i.e., that God alone is the Doer and that ultimately no created beings can carry out any action which has an actual effect or causes damage. According to Gramlich, al-Makkī ignored the basic rule that one must not speak truth in front of the masses.³ This apparently problematic saying seems to have been originally reported by al-Khaṭīb,⁴ who was not entirely in favour of al-Makkī. Later authors simply repeat this account without adding any comments. None of these biographers provides the context of this statement and it appears to be impossible to examine this issue further.

After his 'confused' utterance, it is reported that al-Makkī stopped preaching and died in 386/996.⁵ His death-bed story is similar to an anecdote in the *Qūt*.⁶ Al-Makkī's body was interred in the Mālikī cemetery in Baghdad, and Ibn Kathīr reports that his tomb was outside Jāmi' al-Ruṣāfa.⁷ According to Le Strange, the

¹ ليس على المخلوقين أضر من الخالق (*Ta'rīkh*, 3.89 (and others)).

² De Slane, 3.21.

³ *Nahrung*, 1.12. Shukri adopts a similar line of argument (Shukri, 25). 'Aṭā' seems to agree with al-Makkī's saying, though slightly stretches its meaning to the effect that it is the lack of morals in the knowledge of the Creator that is most harmful to the created beings (*Ilm*, 11). Al-Raḍwānī also makes a comment on this statement and stresses that ignorance about Divine knowledge has serious consequences for the believer (*Qūt*, 1.12).

⁴ *Ta'rīkh*, 3.89.

⁵ According to Amin, al-Makkī had a son, called 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. 445/1053); however, I could not verify this statement from the page of the *Ta'rīkh* (2.275) to which Amin refers (Amin, 9, 47 n. 44).

⁶ *Qūt*, 2.637-8.

⁷ Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 11.341.

second ‘Abbāsīd caliph, al-Manṣūr (r. 136/754-158/775), built a quarter on the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite the Round City, in 151/768, which later became known as the Causeway (*al-Ruṣāfa*).¹ Although the exact location of the Mālikī cemetery is not certain, there seem to be graveyards called Khayzurān near the great mosque of Ruṣāfa, which were damaged when the Mongols conquered Baghdad in 656/1258.² However, Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) describes al-Makkī’s grave as a famous and much-visited place,³ and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1368-9 or 779/1377) mentions his visit to the mosque and the cemetery. It is not certain how long al-Makkī’s grave remained visible, though it seems to be certain that no trace is left in this area in present-day Baghdad.⁴

The teachers of al-Makkī

Apart from Ibn Sālim (the son), three scholars’ names should be listed as his teachers based on internal evidence in the *Qūt*. These are Abū Sa‘īd Ibn al-A‘rābī (d. 341/952),⁵ Abū ‘Alī Kirmānī⁶ and Muẓaffar b. Sahl,⁷ each of whom al-Makkī calls

¹ Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 187-9.

² The Khayzurān became the first Muslim cemetery in the eastern city, which housed the tombs of Abū Ḥanīfa and the later ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs. The tombstones of the Caliphs are reported to have been destroyed by the Mongol army (*ibid.*, 190, 192-3).

³ *Wafayāt*, 4.304.

⁴ See maps of al-Ruṣāfa in Appendix II. For further detail of this quarter see, e.g. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, *passim*, esp. 187-98; Lassner, *Topography*, *passim*, esp. 149-54; *ET*², s.v. (C.E. Bosworth).

⁵ E.g. *Qūt*, 1.448 *et passim*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.1266, where al-Makkī describes him as ‘our Shaykh at Mecca’.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.1665. Shukri mentions one more name, Fāḍil, as one of al-Makkī’s teachers in Mecca (Shukri, 13). The Arabic text here reads ... حدثني شيخ فاضل قرأت عليه القرآن (*Qūt*, 1.179). It seems that *shaykh fāḍil* means ‘an outstanding Shaykh’, rather than a person’s name; cf. Gramlich, who translates it as ‘ein trefflicher Scheich’ (*Nahrung*, 1.215).

Shaykh. The latter two figures are not well known,¹ while Ibn al-A‘rābī is a renowned *ḥadīth* scholar, jurist and mystic in tenth-century Mecca. During his stay in Baghdad, Ibn al-A‘rābī became affiliated with prominent Sufis, including al-Junayd (d. 298/910) and ‘Amr al-Makkī (d. 291/903 or 297/909). Originally from Basra, Ibn al-A‘rābī became one of the most influential teachers in Mecca and left many books and disciples.² It is not certain whether al-Makkī received guidance from the above-listed figures directly. If he met them personally, the meeting with Ibn al-A‘rābī and Abū ‘Alī Kirmānī probably happened in Mecca, and that with Ibn Sālim in Basra, while nothing seems to be left for us regarding Muẓaffar b. Sahl.

According to Ibn Ḥajar, al-Makkī studied *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* under a person called Ibn Zayd al-Marwazī. As Amin argues, this figure seems to be Abū Zayd al-Marwazī (d. 371/982), who was a Shāfi‘ī scholar and taught Tradition, especially al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection, in Baghdad and Mecca.³ Ibn Ḥajar and al-Khaṭīb report that al-Makkī narrated *ḥadīth* with the permission of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far Ibn Fāris (d. 346/957), ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Maṣīṣī (d. 364/975), Abū Bakr al-Mufīd

¹ Shukri, Amin and Renard also mention their names but do not provide any further information (Shukri, 13-14; Amin, 2; *Knowledge*, 33).

² For his life and teaching, see, e.g. Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya*, 10.375-6; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 102-3. See also Abdel-Kader, introduction to *al-Junayd*, x-xi; Shukri, 27-8; Amin, 2-3; *Qūt*, 1.9-10. Al-Makkī mentions Ibn al-A‘rābī’s book, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-nussāk*, in the *Qūt*, and quotes his praise for al-Junayd (*Qūt*, 1.448).

³ De Slane, 2.613-4; Amin, 3, 45 n. 10; cf. *Qūt*, 1.8. Amin also claims that al-Makkī mentions in the *Qūt* that he learned from Abū Bakr al-Marwazī (d. 298/910), who was, according to Amin, a disciple of Ibn Ḥanbal (Amin, 3). Al-Makkī refers to this figure several times in connection with Ibn Ḥanbal; however, al-Marwazī seems to have died in 275/888 (not 298/910) and al-Makkī does not seem to call him Shaykh (*Nahrung*, 4.62 [index]). It is not certain whether this al-Marwazī was really a teacher of al-Makkī. Considering the fact that Ibn Ḥanbal died in 241/855, 275/888 might be more plausible for the death year of al-Marwazī.

al-Jarjarāyī (d. 378/988-9) and others.¹ Al-Makkī mentions none of their names in the *Qūt*.² Al-Raḍwānī states that Ibn Fāris is a *muḥaddith* from Isfahan, but very little information seems to be left on this.³ Regarding the latter two figures, al-Dhahabī describes al-Maṣīṣī as being careless (*tasāhul*),⁴ al-Khaṭīb speaks of al-Mufīd's use of weak Tradition,⁵ and other biographical accounts follow the same line.⁶ It is not clear when and where al-Makkī met them.

Al-Makkī appears to have received a thorough education in *ḥadīth*, although his teachers tend to be criticised for their usage of untrustworthy Tradition by the later authors. No historical sources indicate al-Makkī's possible school of law. One of his teachers, Abū Zayd al-Marwazī, is a Shāfi'ī scholar, while another teacher, al-Mufīd, is reported to have dictated *al-Muwatṭā'* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795).⁷ Shukri concludes that al-Makkī's argument in the *Qūt* demonstrates his inclination towards Shāfi'ī thought.⁸ Amin, on the other hand, assesses al-Makkī's possible *madhhab* as Ḥanbalī from his preference for Ibn Ḥanbal's views of *ḥadīth*.⁹

Among the four Imams of the Sunni law schools, al-Makkī quotes Ibn

¹ Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, 5.298; *Ta'rīkh*, 3.89.

² *Nahrung*, vol. 4 [index].

³ *Qūt*, 1.6 (the author does not mention the source of this information). Shukri and Amin also mention this figure as a *ḥadīth* teacher of al-Makkī, but little seems to be known about him (Shukri, 33; Amin, 3).

⁴ *Mīzān* 3.112. Cf. *Ta'rīkh*, 11.324-5; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* 351-80, 327, *Ibar*, 2.334.

⁵ *Ta'rīkh*, 1.346-8. Cf. *Muntazam*, 7.144; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* 351-80, 630-1, *Ibar*, 3.8; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 7.139.

⁶ See also Shukri, 32-3; Amin, 3, 16; *Qūt*, 1.8. Al-Raḍwānī also lists Abū Bakr al-Ājurrī and Abū Bakr b. Khallād al-Nuṣībī as teachers of al-Makkī (*ibid.*, 1.8-9).

⁷ Although his *Muwatṭā'* is reported to have been untrustworthy by Ibn al-Jawzī (*Muntazam*, 7.144-5).

⁸ Shukri, 52. The possible reasons, which he lists, are 'the importance [al-Makkī] attached to *sunna*, his strong criticism of independent reasoning' and his view of marriage.

⁹ Amin, 20-1.

Ḥanbal the most frequently. This seems to support Amin's argument. However, al-Dhahabī, who adhered to the Shāfi'ī school, consulted al-Makkī's *ḥadīth* collection, and this might indicate the possible *madhhab* of al-Makkī as Shāfi'ī. Massignon argues that the Sālimīs are followers of Mālikī thought in matters of jurisprudence.¹ On the whole, it is not certain which school of law al-Makkī follows. It is not clear either to what extent allegiance to a *madhhab* was important to al-Makkī.

As Ibn Khallikān reports, al-Makkī probably also learned the mystical way of life while he was in Mecca and Basra from, directly or indirectly, Ibn al-A'rabī and Ibn Sālim, the son, respectively. Thus, it may be deduced that al-Makkī studied the Baghdadi tradition of Sufism, represented by al-Junayd, and, in Basra, most likely the teachings of Sahl al-Tustarī. In line with what has been set out in this section, then, it should be pointed out that although al-Makkī is generally regarded as a Sufi writer, attention ought also to be paid to his Traditionist tendencies.²

¹ *El*¹, s.v. 'Sālimīya'. According to Massignon, the geographer al-Muqaddasī (d. 390/1000) reports that the Sālimīs were Mālikīs in his time, while their founder was a Ḥanafī (*El*², s.v.).

² In this context, it makes sense that Karamustafa classifies al-Makkī under the sub-title, 'Sufism among traditionalists', although he categorises the *Qūt* as one of the 'Sufi manuals' (*Sufism (K)*, 84, 87).

CHAPTER 1:

MODERN SCHOLARSHIP ON AL-MAKKĪ, PART 1

Chapters 1 and 2 evaluate how al-Makkī has been viewed in modern scholarship. This chapter discusses how he is described in general reference books from the late nineteenth century. It goes on to analyse modern scholarship on al-Makkī in both Islamic and Jewish studies. The next chapter examines research that focuses on al-Makkī in particular. Finally, some reflections on several translations of the *Qūt* are presented. Chronological lists of all the materials consulted in this section are offered in appendices.¹ The aim of this discussion is not, however, to produce a comprehensive list of books and articles which mention al-Makkī. This would be almost impossible, either in brief or at greater length. The purpose of this section is rather to examine how al-Makkī has been viewed in modern times and to explore the ways in which he and his writing could be studied.

1.1 GENERAL REFERENCES

Al-Makkī appears in Brockelmann's famous list of Arabic literary works, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, which was originally published in 1898 (vol. 1).² In the *GAL*, al-Makkī is introduced as an 'ascetic and preacher' in a section on mystics, and

¹ See Appendix XI, i. Amin has a section on modern scholarship on al-Makkī and enumerates approximately fifteen works, in most cases also providing a short description of their contents (Amin, 27-34).

² *GAL*, 1.217. (Vol. 2 was originally published in 1902, and the supplements in 1937-42.) Amin states that this was the first appearance of al-Makkī in modern western scholarship (Amin, 27). Although it may indeed be viewed as the first easily accessible statement in Islamic studies, Kaufmann had mentioned al-Makkī in his article on a Jewish scholar, Ibn Bāqūdā, twenty-four years earlier than Brockelmann (see below).

Brockelmann lists approximately twenty manuscripts of the *Qūt*. In a supplement to the *GAL*, the list of *Qūt* manuscripts is expanded. Brockelmann also adds one manuscript of the *ʿIlm* to the list and describes the *Qūt* as the source of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ*.¹ Another famous reference work, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (first edition published in 1913-36), contains a very short article on al-Makkī, in which Massignon describes him as a 'muḥaddith and mystic' and the head of al-Sālimiyya.² Almost the same account of al-Makkī appears in the second edition of *EI*.³

For Arabic readers, three modern biographical dictionaries should be mentioned as general reference books: *Hadiyyat al-ʿarīfīn* ('The Gift of the Knowledgeable') of al-Baghdādī; *al-Aʿlām* ('The Outstanding Figures') of al-Ziriklī; and the famous and massive work *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* ('The Lexicon of Authors'), by Kaḥḥāla. Al-Baghdādī introduces al-Makkī as a 'preacher and Sufi' and describes the *Qūt* as a book on 'morals and Sufism'.⁴ Al-Ziriklī includes brief biographical information on al-Makkī, with a quote from a statement by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in his famous *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* ('The History of Baghdad').⁵ Al-Makkī is introduced by al-Ziriklī as a preacher, ascetic and jurist (*faqīh*), and his literary works – the *Qūt*, the *ʿIlm* and his own collection of forty *ḥadīth* – are enumerated in the *Aʿlām*.⁶ In the

¹ *GAL*, SI.359-60.

² *EI*¹, s.v. Massignon also states that 'whole pages' of the *Qūt* are reproduced in the *Iḥyāʾ*.

³ *EI*², s.v. Al-Makkī is originally described as an 'Arab muḥaddith and mystic' in *EI*¹; however, the term 'Arab' is dropped in the second edition. This may be because a *nisba* of al-Makkī, al-ʿAjamī, indicates his non-Arab origin.

⁴ Al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarīfīn*, 2.55. Al-Baghdādī lists the *Qūt* and *Mushkil iʿrāb al-Qurʾān* as the writings of al-Makkī; however, the latter work seems to have been composed by a Mālikī Qurʾānic scholar, Makkī b. Ḥammūsh Qaysī (d. 437/1045) (*EI*², s.v.).

⁵ *Taʾrīkh*, 3.89; for a translation of the whole account, see Appendix I, i.

⁶ Al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, 7.160.

Muʿjam, Kaḥḥāla too describes al-Makkī as a Sufi and preacher, but also as a theologian (*mutakallim*), and the *Qūt* as a work on Sufism.¹

In these major reference books, al-Makkī is portrayed as an ascetic, preacher, mystic/Sufi, *ḥadīth* scholar, law expert and *kalām* theologian. Not much information can be found regarding his life, but his connection with al-Sālimiyya and the link between the *Qūt* and the *Ihyāʾ* are touched upon. A range of depictions of al-Makkī can be also found in the various articles in *EF*² and *EF*³ that mention his name. In the former,² al-Makkī appears in the articles ‘Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal’,³ ‘*ālam*’,⁴ ‘Ḥulmāniyya’,⁵ ‘*kalām*’,⁶ ‘*qalb*’,⁷ ‘*muḥāsaba*’,⁸ ‘Sālimiyya’⁹ and ‘*ṭabaqāt*’¹⁰. In

¹ Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, 11.27-8.

² These articles are those listed in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition Index*, 630. An electronic search, however, indicates that al-Makkī is also referred to in many more articles, such as ‘Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’, ‘Ibn ‘Abbād’, ‘ikhḥlās’, ‘‘Isā’, ‘qāṣṣ’, ‘khaṭī’a’, ‘tawakkul’ and ‘takwā’ (http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.webfeat.lib.ed.ac.uk/subscriber/uid=3245/search_results?search_text=al-makki [accessed on 18th Aug, 2009]).

³ In this article, Laoust argues that Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Kitāb al-waraʿ* is ‘extensively quoted’ in the *Qūt* and then in the *Ihyāʾ*. Cf. Abd-el-Jalil, *Aspects intérieurs de l’Islam*, 228 n. 193.

⁴ In the description of a *ḥadīth*-origin term, ‘*ālam al-jabarūt*’, Gardet refers to a statement by al-Makkī.

⁵ Al-Ḥulmāniyya are accused of heresy and Hujwīrī connects them with al-Sālimiyya (*Kashf*, 131). In this article, however, Pedersen argues that, although there might have been some link between them, the former group’s ideas do not always accord with the ‘earnest asceticism’ of Ibn Sālim and al-Makkī.

⁶ *Kalām Allāh*, not in the sense of ‘ilm al-*kalām*. In this article, Gardet mentions al-Makkī and his citation from Ibn Ḥanbal regarding the argument about the Qur’ān as the word of God. Cf. *Taimīya*, 172 n. 2.

⁷ In his description of the mystical tradition of the image of the heart, Vadet introduces the *Qūt* as the ‘celebrated’ Sufi work and states that al-Ghazālī ‘reproduces whole passages’ from this book. It should also be mentioned that Vadet refers to Ibn Bāqūdā after introducing the *Qūt*, and argues that Ibn Bāqūdā wrote a treatise on the heart under strong influence from Sufism; *EF*², s.v.

⁸ In this article, Findley states that it is al-Muḥāsibī and al-Makkī whose views of *muḥāsaba* al-Ghazālī expands in the *Ihyāʾ*.

⁹ According to Massignon, the real doctrine of al-Sālimiyya should be sought in the *Qūt*, not in the opponents’ writings, notably Ḥanbalī scholars’, since al-Makkī is the ‘most famous pupil’ of the second Ibn Sālim (*EF*², s.v.); indeed, al-Makkī might even have been the head of the school (*EF*¹, s.v.). Massignon argues that in al-Makkī’s work, the Sālimī teaching shows a ‘thoroughly orthodox and quite ascetic piety’ (*EF*², s.v.).

¹⁰ In this article, Gilliot states that the criteria of social classification have their origin in al-Makkī’s work, whose principles are later taken up by Ibn al-Jawzī. For detailed discussion, see Ch. 7.2.

the third edition of *EI*,¹ which has not yet been completed, al-Makkī's name can be seen in the articles on 'action ('*amal*), in Ṣūfism',² 'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sālim',³ and 'asceticism'.⁴

Al-Makkī appears in other reference works, such as the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*,⁵ *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* by Sezgin,⁶ the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*,⁷ the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*,⁸ the *Encyclopaedia of Sufism*⁹ and the *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis*.¹⁰ No particularly new information can be found in these encyclopaedias. It should be mentioned, however, that Sezgin greatly expands Brockelmann's list of the manuscripts of al-Makkī's writings, and an article on al-Shādhiliyya in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* mentions al-Shādhilī's (d. 656/1258) high respect for the *Qūt* and the *Iḥyā'*, which is not discussed in earlier works.¹¹

These reference works show al-Makkī's strong intellectual association with Ibn Ḥanbal, Sahl al-Tustarī, Ibn Sālim and al-Sālimiyya. They also demonstrate that his knowledge is not only about the inner aspects of religion, but also about *ḥadīth*

¹ The search was done at: http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.webfeat.lib.ed.ac.uk/subscriber/uid=3245/entry?entry=ei3_id397006 [accessed on 18th Aug, 2009].

² In this article, Ohlander describes al-Makkī as an 'enigmatic' Sufi author, and lists the *ʿIlm* as the work of 'pseudo-Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī' in the bibliography.

³ Ohlander says in this article that al-Tustarī's teachings are preserved in al-Makkī's *Qūt*.

⁴ In this article, Melchert states that the *Qūt*, and the *Luma'* of al-Sarrāj are useful for research on early ascetics.

⁵ S.vv. 'Sālimīya', 'Shādhilīya' and 'taṣawwuf'.

⁶ GAS, 1.666-7.

⁷ S.v. 'al-Makkī' (B. Radtke). See also 'Sahl al-Tustarī' (*idem*) and 'Ṣūfī literature, prose' (R.L. Nettle).

⁸ S.vv. 'despair' (J. Renard) and 'heart' (J.D. McAuliffe).

⁹ 3.30.

¹⁰ S.v. 'al-Makki, Abu Talid (*sic*)'. See also 'Nasafi, Aziz ibn Muhammad'.

¹¹ For more detail about the link between al-Makkī and al-Shādhiliyya, see Ch. 6.2.

and *ṭabaqāt*. Al-Makkī's views of *muḥāsaba* and asceticism confirm his piety, and, as denoted by his *nisba*, al-Wā'iz, al-Makkī seems to have engaged with other people as a preacher, rather than staying outside society and remaining aloof. The *Qūt* is full of warnings, and these characteristics and his ideas are passed on in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'*.

From the evidence presented here alone, it seems doubtful whether it is appropriate to pigeonhole al-Makkī as a Sufi, and the *Qūt* as a Sufi manual. His intellectual tendencies do not appear to be confined within the bounds of mysticism, and, more importantly, academic classification must have taken a different form in his time from what we would expect today.¹ So far, al-Baghdādī's description of the *Qūt* as a book on 'morals and Sufism' appears to be the most suitable. But the description could be made even simpler: a book on ethics.

1.2 AL-MAKKĪ IN ISLAMIC STUDIES

1.2.1 GENERAL STUDIES ON SUFISM

Al-Makkī has been mentioned by a large number of scholars in their books on (mainly) Sufism,² including Abd-el-Jalil,³ Arberry,⁴ Anawati,⁵ Baldick,⁶ Danner,¹

¹ Among his occupations as listed above, the description of him as a *mutakallim* might come from his association with the mystico-theological group al-Sālimiyya. Arberry mentions al-Makkī's deep knowledge of theology and *ḥadīth* (*Sufism (A)*, 68). Some scholars discuss a strong intellectual relationship between Sufism and *kalām*, e.g. Geoffroy, who argues that 'la mystique a ... frayé avec une forme de *kalām*' (*Soufisme*, 496.) As for al-Makkī being a *faqīh*, it does not seem to be obvious why he is described as such. This statement might come from his knowledge of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, but it is not clear.

² These works are here listed in alphabetical order of the author's name. They are arranged according to the year of first publication in Appendix XI, ii.

³ Abd-el-Jalil, *Aspects intérieurs*, 171, 228 n. 193.

⁴ Arberry, *History of Sūfism*, 20, 26; *Sufism (A)*, 68-9.

⁵ Anawati, *Mystique Musulmane*, 34, 41, 47, 50, 149, 165 n. 20, 195 n. 36.

⁶ Baldick, *Mystical Islam*, 56, 65.

van Ess,² Geoffroy,³ Goitein,⁴ Goldziher,⁵ Izutsu,⁶ Karamustafa,⁷ Knysh,⁸ Laoust,⁹ Massignon,¹⁰ Nasr,¹¹ Rauf,¹² Renard,¹³ Schimmel,¹⁴ Sells,¹⁵ Smith¹⁶ and Watt¹⁷. Although the depth of their coverage varies considerably, their common attitude towards al-Makkī can be summarised in Arberry's description of the *Qūt* as being 'the first – and a very successful – attempt to construct an overall design for orthodox Sufism'.¹⁸

First and foremost, al-Makkī has always been treated as a Sufi writer and the *Qūt* as a mystical work. It is clear that it is this book that made al-Makkī famous, although his alleged work, the *ʿIlm*, has also been mentioned by some scholars.¹⁹ As is the case with general reference books, the link between al-Makkī and al-Sālimiyya is sometimes pointed out,²⁰ and his influence on al-Ghazālī is discussed in most of the above-mentioned works. Among them, only Geoffroy refers to the connection

¹ Danner, 'The Early Development of Sufism', in *Islamic Spirituality* 1, ed. Nasr, 260-1.

² Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 4.8, 230, 244, 456, 584, 687, 735.

³ Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, 487 n. 62, 496.

⁴ Goitein, 'Periodization', 225.

⁵ Goldziher, 'Materialien', *passim*.

⁶ *Theology*, 40.

⁷ Karamustafa, 'What is Sufism?', in *Voices of Islam* 1, ed. Cornell, 258-9; *Sufism (K)*, 87-9 *et passim*.

⁸ *Mysticism*, 121-2 *et passim*.

⁹ Laoust, *Schismes*, 161.

¹⁰ Massignon, *Essai*, 63, 134, 199, 246, 279, 297-300.

¹¹ Nasr, 'Šūfism', in *Cambridge History of Iran* 4, ed. Frye, 462.

¹² Rauf, 'What is Sunni Islam?', in *Voices of Islam* 1, ed. Cornell, 207, 216 n. 36.

¹³ Renard, *Seven Doors*, 209-10.

¹⁴ *Dimensions*, 85 *et passim*.

¹⁵ Sells, *Mysticism*, 24.

¹⁶ Smith, *Early Mysticism*, *passim*; *Mystics of Islam*, 44-6.

¹⁷ Watt, *Philosophy and Theology*, 109.

¹⁸ *Sufism (A)*, 68.

¹⁹ Cf. Baldick, *Mystical Islam*, 56; *Mysticism*, 122; *Sufism (K)*, 87-8, 108 n. 1, where Karamustafa concludes that the *ʿIlm* is not al-Makkī's composition. See Ch. 5 for further discussion.

²⁰ E.g. Anawati, *Mystique Musulmane*, 34; Massignon, *Essai*, *passim*; Watt, *Philosophy and Theology*, 109; Laoust, *Schismes*, 161.

between al-Makkī and the Qur'anic exegete, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), although he does so only briefly.¹

1.2.2 THEMED BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Al-Makkī has been referred to in various studies of notable Sufis and writers on Sufism; for instance, works on al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,² al-Rābi'a,³ Bishr al-Ḥāfi,⁴ al-Muḥāsibī,⁵ Sahl al-Tustarī,⁶ al-Junayd,⁷ al-Ḥallāj,⁸ al-Sarrāj,⁹ al-Kalābādhī,¹⁰ al-Ghazālī,¹¹ al-Suhrawardī,¹² Ibn al-ʿArabī,¹³ Rūmī¹⁴ and al-Rundī.¹⁵ Al-Makkī also appears in works on Ḥanbalism,¹⁶ Ibn Ḥanbal,¹⁷ Ibn Taymiyya,¹⁸ al-Suyūṭī,¹⁹ Mullā Ṣadrā²⁰ and Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī.²¹ Many scholars mention

¹ Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, 487 n. 62.

² Mourad, *Early Islam*, 98-9, 102-5, 115, 241; cf. Madelung, review of *ibid.*, 158.

³ Smith, *Rābi'a*, xiv, 47, 50-1, 58 *et passim*.

⁴ Cooperson, 'Ibn Ḥanbal and Bishr al-Ḥāfi', 75, 81 n. 37.

⁵ *Gedankenwelt*, 139; Mahmoud, *Muḥāsibī*, 53; al-Qūwatī, introduction to 'Aql by al-Muḥāsibī, 34, 87-8, 90; *Early Mystic*, 27, 239, 259, 269.

⁶ *Vision*, 25-8 *et passim*; Watt, 'Some Mystics of the Later Third/Ninth Century', 311.

⁷ Abdel-Kader, introduction to *al-Junayd*, xiv.

⁸ Massignon, *Passion*, 1.78, 112, 265 n. 7, 422 n. 2, 495 n. 1.

⁹ Nicholson, introduction to *Luma'*, ii, viii, xi.

¹⁰ Arberry, introduction to *Doctrine*, xiii, xv; Smith, review of *ibid.*, 1169.

¹¹ Calder, review of *Ḡazālī* by Morelon, 210; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Studies in al-Ghazzali*, 18-9, 34-5; MacDonald, 'Life', 91; Nakamura, *Isuramu-no shūkyō shisō* ('The Religious Thought of Islam'), 87-99 *et passim*; Watt, *Muslim Intellectual*, 110-1; Wensinck, 'Ḡazālī's Cosmology', 191-2; *idem*, *Pensée*, 128; Winter, introduction to *Remembrance* by al-Ghazālī, xix.

¹² Gramlich, introduction to *Gaben* by al-Suhrawardī, 1.

¹³ Chittick, *Sufi Path*, 103, 413 n. 17; Claude, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, 102-3.

¹⁴ Iqbal, *Rumi*, 98-9.

¹⁵ Nwyia, *Ronda*, *passim*; Rahman, review of *Rasā'il*, 584; Renard, introduction to *Ronda* by al-Rundī, 30, 48.

¹⁶ Laoust, 'Hanbalisme', 35; Makdisi, 'Hanbali School', 67.

¹⁷ Cooperson, 'Ibn Ḥanbal and Bishr al-Ḥāfi', 75, 81 n. 37; cf. Abd-el-Jalil, *Aspects intérieurs*, 228 n. 193.

¹⁸ *Taimīya*, 82, 90, 172 n. 2.

¹⁹ Sartain, *Suyūṭī*, 2.3.

²⁰ Nasr, *Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī*, 74.

²¹ Reichmuth, *World of Murtaḍā*, 271, 289-90, 308.

al-Makkī in different areas of scholarship, such as Sufi brotherhoods,¹ Sufism in India,² asceticism,³ Qur'ān recitation,⁴ preachers,⁵ the spirit,⁶ Divine Love,⁷ Divine Knowledge,⁸ Jesus,⁹ Satan,¹⁰ and sex and society¹¹.

The list of names of notable Sufis and Islamic thinkers who are mentioned above indicates the significance of al-Makkī in the history of Islamic thought and practice.¹² The range of the topics shows the extensive coverage of al-Makkī's writing, which does not revolve around Sufism only. Among these studies, several of them are discussed here in order to showcase the variety of images which al-Makkī has received.

Pedersen, 'Criticism of the Islamic Preacher', 1953

Pedersen's article 'Criticism of the Islamic Preacher' is of interest not only in connection with al-Makkī, but also because of al-Makkī's treatment of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. In 'Islamic Preacher' al-Makkī appears in many places, as he is an 'enemy'

¹ Abun-Nasr, *Muslim Communities*, 41-2, 57.

² Khan, 'Sufism in India', 248.

³ Kinberg, 'Zuhd', 35 *et passim*.

⁴ Nelson, *Reciting the Qur'an*, 48, 53, 60-3, 73, 90-1, 97-9.

⁵ Pedersen, 'Islamic Preacher', *passim*.

⁶ MacDonald, 'Idea of Spirit II', 157.

⁷ Abrahamov, *Divine Love*, 34-6, 86.

⁸ *Knowledge*, 33-8, 114-263 [translation of Section 31 of the *Qūt*; see below] *et passim*. Al-Makkī's views of knowledge and his alleged '*Ilm al-qulūb*' are discussed by Rahman *et al.* in 'Sufism and the Concept of Knowledge' (in *Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture* 7.142-9, 151, see also 14, 80, 95, 168-9); however, there is no reference in this article and it is hard to verify the argument presented here.

⁹ Khalidi, *Muslim Jesus*, 138-9, see also 86-7, 140-1.

¹⁰ *Satan*, *passim*.

¹¹ Bellamy, 'Sex and Society', 27-8, 31, 35-6.

¹² These figures are discussed elsewhere in this thesis. Those who lived earlier than al-Makkī are mainly treated in Ch. 3.1.1, his contemporaries in Ch. 3.3, and those who came later than him in Chs. 6-7.

of the *quṣṣāṣ* (story-tellers).¹ According to al-Makkī, *qaṣaṣ* is innovation and he supports his argument by quoting Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ḥasan; however, Pedersen mentions that the alleged saying of al-Ḥasan against story-telling cited in the *Qūt* does not match al-Ḥasan's earlier image as a *qāṣṣ*.² This could indicate al-Makkī's possible criteria for his selection of al-Ḥasan's sayings.³

Pedersen claims that by the time of al-Makkī, Sufis had become not only 'ascetics but also mystics' who possessed the 'true knowledge', unlike *quṣṣāṣ*,⁴ and this could be the main reason for the Sufis' severe criticism of them.⁵ However, Pedersen states that al-Makkī seems to have reservations about this, as his attacks are against the contents of the story-tellers' material, their use of weak *ḥadīth* and their innovative nature.⁶ His disapproving tone is, according to 'Islamic Preacher', taken mainly from jurists in the process of the unification of mysticism and orthodoxy.⁷ This may be one way of looking at it; however, a hasty decision should be avoided here, since it is not entirely clear whether al-Makkī differentiates mystical phenomena in Islam from its so-called orthodoxy. It should also be mentioned that this article clearly demonstrates the reproduction of al-Makkī's arguments not only by al-Ghazālī but also Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Suyūṭī.⁸

¹ Pedersen, 'Islamic Preacher', 221.

² *Ibid.*, 222, cf. 218.

³ Al-Makkī's possible omission or addition of al-Ḥasan's saying is in accordance with Mourad's argument below, although this needs further careful research.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 222-3. Cf. Arberry states that the pattern of the *Qūt* is 'a little reminiscent of that of the standard manuals of religious jurisprudence' (*Sufism (A)*, 68).

⁸ Pedersen, 'Islamic Preacher', 223, 227 and n. 4, 228-9.

Bellamy, 'Sex and Society in Islamic Popular Literature', 1979

Bellamy's article 'Sex and Society in Islamic Popular Literature' gives us some insight into al-Makkī's ethical codes and is a good example with which to demonstrate the nature of the *Qūt*. In 'Sex and Society', Bellamy draws frequently on the writings of al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī. Although the author categorises both books as Sufi literature, he claims that the *Qūt* and the *Iḥyā'* are to this day 'probably the best compendium of Muslim sexual ethics'.¹ This could indicate that mystical dimensions and morals may overlap in Islam. Bellamy states that a chapter on marriage in the *Qūt* is a 'remarkable piece of work' and a 'veritable marriage manual' for Muslims.²

Al-Makkī is in favour of marriage. Bellamy cites some sayings from the *Qūt* to demonstrate how open some ascetics and mystics are about their carnal desires.³ Although the advantages of celibacy are admitted, the basic argument in the *Qūt*, and in Islam in general, revolves around control rather than denial of sexual intercourse.⁴ In comparison with the *Iḥyā'*, Bellamy claims that, while al-Makkī's argument is

¹ Bellamy, 'Sex and Society', 27.

² *Ibid.* The chapter to which Bellamy refers must be Section 45, for it is this section he cites most often in his article. Section 45 is entitled 'An account of marrying off (*tazwīj*) and its neglect (*tark*). Which of them is more preferable?' and also includes principles for women (*aḥkām al-nisā'*) in relation to this matter (*Qūt*, 3.1603-48).

³ Bellamy, 'Sex and Society', 31, where he introduces some of al-Makkī's quotations; e.g. al-Junayd's saying, 'I need sex just as I need food' (*Qūt*, 3.1610, my translation), and a habit of Ibn 'Umar, an ascetic and one of the Companions, who used to have sexual intercourse soon after fasting and just before prayer (*ibid.*).

⁴ Bellamy, 'Sex and Society', 32.

often reproduced by al-Ghazālī,¹ the latter is ‘more formal’ and ‘more thorough’ in the matter of sin.²

As mentioned, Bellamy classifies the *Qūt* and the *Iḥyāʾ* as Sufi writings. He uses these two works in his article because he gives the credit to Sufis for ‘taking the scattered and often dry ... anecdotes and shaping them into a viable sexual ethic’ and he states that the two works are the best and most popular of this kind.³ His remarks on Sufis are of interest and could be applied beyond sexual issues. In the *Qūt*, the term ‘Sufi’ seems to refer to those who give serious thought to their belief and put their thorough knowledge of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* into practice. Bellamy’s article demonstrates well that at least a section in the *Qūt* can be immediately used as a moral manual.

Awn, *Satan’s Tragedy and Redemption*, 1983

Satan’s Tragedy and Redemption is the product of Awn’s careful research on Iblīs in Sufi tradition. After introducing the depiction of Satan in the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, Awn first discusses a common image of Iblīs as a wicked figure in Sufi literature, and goes on to present another view of Satan as a true believer. Awn’s work shows his extensive use of al-Makkī’s writings,⁴ both the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*.⁵ From the way Awn quotes al-Makkī, al-Ghazālī and Rūmī, al-Makkī’s influence, either directly or

¹ E.g. *ibid.*, 31 n. 25, 35 n. 43.

² *Ibid.*, 27.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Al-Makkī is one of the most frequently cited writers among, e.g. ‘Aṭṭār, al-Ghazālī, Rūmī and al-Ṭabarī (*Satan*, 210-5 [index]).

⁵ Passages of the *ʿIlm* are sometimes quoted (e.g. *ibid.*, 61-2, 78, 84).

indirectly, on the latter two is evident, as they often present arguments that are similar or identical to those set out by al-Makkī.¹

In Awn's work, al-Makkī's views of Iblīs represent the conventional image of Satan as being God's 'most detestable creature'.² Both al-Makkī and Rūmī, Awn argues, condemn the 'unrepentant state' of Iblīs, and al-Makkī recommends his readers not to seek perfection, since it can delusively lead them to the arrogance of self-sufficiency which characterises Satan's fantasies.³ Al-Makkī confirms the need for the existence of sinners in order for God to show His compassion.⁴ This statement seems to acknowledge that evil creatures, like Satan, are indispensable in the world. Throughout his writing, however, al-Makkī warns his readers to fight against this enemy ('*adū*) of God.⁵

Dilemmas between Divine goodness and the existence of evil can be seen not only among thinkers in Islam, but also in many other religions. In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī keeps emphasising that this world is a test given by God and encourages the reader to be a better believer. As Awn points out, al-Makkī believes in human responsibility.⁶ Although al-Makkī might well accept that it is in the nature of Iblīs

¹ Al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī are cited in the same places throughout Awn's work. As for al-Makkī and Rūmī, see e.g. *ibid.*, 64 n. 26, 96.

² *Ibid.*, 96.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* In *Mathnawī*, Rūmī also claims the necessity of the evil state in order to be able to know the good, e.g. 'The bone-setter, where should he try his skill; but on the patient lying with broken leg?', 'Hell-fire and Iblis with his hideous crew; both master-works, created for good ends; to show His perfect wisdom ...', cited in Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, 69-70.

⁵ See, e.g. a summarised translation of an extract from the *Qūt* in Ch. 4.2, where Satan appears in many places.

⁶ Although al-Makkī 'hedges' on this matter and finally cites al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to settle this debate (*Satan*, 102-3).

to commit immoral acts, evidently such acts should not be committed by believers. In the last chapter of Awn's book regarding Iblīs as a perfect believer, al-Makkī does not appear.¹ On the whole, this work demonstrates the sobriety and level-headedness of al-Makkī's arguments both in the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*, which do not seem to contradict each other in their contents.

Kinberg, 'What is Meant by *zuhd*', 1985

Kinberg has argued that the term *zuhd* should be understood not only in terms of Sufism, but Islam as a whole.² The *Qūt* is cited throughout this article to support Kinberg's proposal that *zuhd* cannot be simply translated as 'asceticism' or 'abstinence', since the term does not require the abandonment of this world or physical asceticism.³ Kinberg quotes a saying in the *Qūt* that the core of *zuhd* is following the basic tenets of Islam, and states that *zuhd* is a 'code of behavior' for all Muslims, not only for a limited number of people.⁴

The article concludes by suggesting that *zuhd* should be understood as 'ethics',⁵ that are to be carried out by any Muslim, since practising *zuhd* is fundamentally the same as practising Islam.⁶ Kinberg draws this conclusion from a

¹ *Ibid.*, 122-83. As Awn argues here, al-Ḥallāj seems to be one of the earliest figures to portray Iblīs as a true monotheist because of his refusal to bow down to anyone other than God. Cf. *Dimensions*, 194; *Mysticism*, 76.

² Kinberg, 'Zuhd', 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 27-8, 36, 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-1.

passage in the *Qūt* where al-Makkī sets out a similar line of argument.¹ Whatever term al-Makkī uses in the *Qūt* to describe a pious believer (e.g. *zāhid*, *ʿārīf*, *ʿālim*), his main discussion may be said to revolve around righteous ways of conduct. In the course of its discussion of *zuhd*, Kinberg's article seems to represent this core idea of the *Qūt* well.²

Mourad, *Early Islam between Myth and History*, 2006

In *Early Islam between Myth and History*, Mourad attempts to demystify the legacy of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. This prominent Umayyad preacher is generally understood to have been one of the earliest ascetics, one who exerted a significant influence upon later Sufis and whose name often appears in the *silsila* of Sufi orders.³ Mourad, however, questions whether he really deserves this reputation, and claims that it is probably al-Makkī who is responsible for the image of al-Ḥasan as a figure to whom the formation of mysticism in Islam owes so much. In the *Qūt*, continues Mourad, al-Makkī is 'eager' to demonstrate that the origin of Sufism is in Basra.⁴ According to *Early Islam*, the reason behind this attitude is al-Makkī's aim to connect

¹ *Ibid.*

² While frequently discussing the renunciation of this world, the pious believers in the *Qūt*, who are carrying out *zuhd*, do not seem to correspond exactly to the conventional image of Christian monks and hermits. Sufism and *zuhd* are used almost interchangeably in the *Qūt*. As seen in Kinberg's article, the connotations of *zuhd* and those of 'asceticism' in Islam seem to be different from the English usage. For al-Makkī, one possessing gnosis (*ʿārīf*) and one carrying out *zuhd*, both of which can characterise a Sufi, may convey the same meaning, namely, a faithful believer. Cf. Chs. 3.2-3.3.

³ Cf. Knysh describes al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as 'the archetypal proto-Sufi' (*Mysticism*, 10); Arberry states that he is 'claimed by the Sufis as one of their first and most distinguished partisans' (*Sufism (A)*, 33).

⁴ Mourad, *Early Islam*, 98.

al-Sālimiyya to the Prophet via the renowned Basran figure al-Ḥasan, in order to show the legitimacy of the school.¹

The extensive discussion of al-Makkī in Mourad's book cannot be examined here in detail; however, it should be mentioned that Mourad's views of al-Makkī may cast a different light on the study of the *Qūt*. While various scholars argue that the real teachings of al-Sālimiyya have to be sought in this book, since its author was a prominent figure of the school,² Mourad takes one step further and claims that at least part of al-Makkī's motivation in composing the *Qūt* was to respond to opponents' criticisms of the Sālimiyya school.³ According to Mourad, in the process of legitimatising its tradition, al-Makkī sometimes 'edited out' sayings of al-Ḥasan when they seemed inconvenient for his purposes.⁴

As Madelung argues in a review of *Early Islam*, the author's conclusions that no historical evidence supports al-Ḥasan's impact on the development of Sufism will have to be revisited,⁵ and, accordingly, al-Makkī's contribution to the sanctification of this famous preacher should also be re-examined.⁶ In terms of the study of al-Makkī, however, Mourad's book provides us with an opportunity to

¹ *Ibid.*, 98-9.

² E.g. *EF*², s.v. 'Sālimīya' (L. Massignon); *Vision*, *passim*, e.g. 26-7, 34.

³ Mourad, *Early Islam*, 98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁵ Madelung, review of *Early Islam*, 159, where he describes Mourad's conclusions as 'radical'.

⁶ *Early Islam* is not the only work to highlight al-Makkī's argument regarding al-Ḥasan's association with the development of Sufism. For instance, according to Arberry, al-Makkī claims that 'the Sufi way of life and thought represented an authentic tradition of the Prophet's teaching, transmitted first by al-Hasan al-Basrī' (*Sufism (A)*, 68). Rauf states that both the Sunnis and the Mu'tazilites consider al-Ḥasan as one of them, and quotes a passage from the *Qūt* where al-Makkī declares that his doctrine follows al-Ḥasan's teachings ('What is Sunni Islam?', in *Voices of Islam* 1, ed. Cornell, 216 n. 36). Mourad's argument, however, clearly goes further than these discussions.

investigate al-Makkī's writing from different angles.

The main focus of the studies we have just examined is not al-Makkī. Nevertheless, or possibly because of this, they project various images of al-Makkī and his writing. The common element across these accounts is his focus on moral behaviour. Whatever the topic is, from Satan and story tellers to *zuhd* and sexual intercourse, his main concern seems to be to advocate faithful codes of conduct both inwardly and outwardly.

There is no doubt that the *Qūt* has been read among Sufis as a guidebook. However, before settling on the view that the target audience of the book was exclusively mystic circles, it is necessary to consider what Sufism meant to al-Makkī. In the *Qūt*, a Sufi seems to be the equivalent of a God-fearing believer.¹ This concept is not an invention of al-Makkī. This is a common basic notion in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which share a great deal of theological heritage. It seems therefore that al-Makkī's argument has much potential for being transferable to other monotheistic religions. Although al-Makkī supports his discussion by citing the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, the fundamental commonalities between the monotheistic beliefs might be able to transcend the particularities of each tradition. Keeping this in mind, the next part introduces Jewish scholarship which discusses al-Makkī's possible

¹ Nor does the term 'Sufi' often appear; see Ch. 3.2.

influence on a Jewish scholar, Ibn Bāqūdā.

1.3 AL-MAKKĪ IN JEWISH STUDIES

It has sometimes been pointed out that al-Makkī might have exerted a strong influence on an Andalusian Jewish philosopher, Ibn Bāqūdā, in composing his book, *al-Hidāya ilā farā'id al-qulūb*. Through examining several studies on this famous book on ethics in the Jewish tradition, the aim of the present section is to explore how al-Makkī is perceived in the domain of Jewish studies, where his name is practically unknown. Among the works on Ibn Bāqūdā by Chouraqui,¹ Goldziher,² Goodman,³ Kaufmann,⁴ Lobel,⁵ Mansoor,⁶ Vajda⁷ and Yahuda⁸, this section focuses on five scholars' studies.

Yahuda (ed.), *al-Hidāja ilā farā'id al-qulūb des Bachja ibn Jōsēf ibn Paqūda*, 1912

In 1912, Yahuda edited Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts of *al-Hidāya* into Arabic for the

¹ Chouraqui, preface to *Devoirs du cœur* by Ibn Bāqūdā, xi. He translates *al-Hidāya* and briefly mentions al-Makkī, citing Vajda's argument.

² Goldziher, review of *Hidājā*, 157. He discusses the influence of Islamic literature of morals and asceticism upon Ibn Bāqūdā, and describes both the *Qūt* and the *Ilm* as 'classiques du genre' (*ibid.*).

³ Goodman, 'Antinomy', 119, 124-5; *Jewish and Islamic Philosophy*, 77, 79; 'Spinoza's *Ethics*', 80 n. 19.

⁴ Kaufmann, 'Theologie des Bachja', 7 n. 1. His reference to al-Makkī in 1874 is the earliest in this chapter. Kaufmann cites Casiri's description in an Escorial catalogue that 'كتاب قوت القلوب' des Ibn Athia' is a source of the *Hidāya* ('Ibn Athia' probably designates a *nasab* of al-Makkī, Ibn 'Atīyya) and mentions that the *Qūt* has been translated into Hebrew twice.

⁵ *Dialogue*, 196-200, 303 n. 85, 319 n. 27, 321 n. 61.

⁶ Mansoor, introduction to *Direction*, 31-2, 77 n. 70.

⁷ *Théologie, passim*, esp. 22-3, 62-7, 99 n. 4, 105-10.

⁸ Yahuda, introduction to *Hidāja*, see esp. 59 n. 1, 97-8.

first time.¹ This enabled Arabic readers who did not have knowledge of Hebrew script to access the text. Yahuda also provided a substantial introduction, in which he mentions al-Makkī and describes the *Qūt* as a ‘viel bedeutenderes Werk’.² The introduction contains a long section on Islamic (and especially ascetic and mystical) sources of *al-Hidāya*, as the expression ‘*farā’iḍ al-qulūb*’ in the title follows the ‘basic concept’ of Sufis of observing the religious duties of the heart as opposed to those of the body.³ As classical writings on asceticism, Yahuda lists the works of al-Muḥāsibī, al-Makkī and some writings of al-Ghazālī.⁴

Vajda, *La théologie ascétique de Baḥya ibn Paquda*, 1947

Vajda has also carried out painstaking research on possible Islamic sources for *al-Hidāya*. He highlights the considerable influence of Muslim thinkers on Ibn Bāqūdā, ‘notamment’ al-Makkī.⁵ The *Théologie* compares Ibn Bāqūdā’s thought in *al-Hidāya*, chapter by chapter, with that of notable Muslim thinkers, including al-Ḥallāj, al-Kalābādhī, al-Makkī, al-Muḥāsibī, al-Sarrāj and Sahl al-Tustarī. Al-Makkī appears elsewhere in this book, where Vajda describes the *Qūt* as one of the works by ‘*zuhd* Muslims’.⁶

In a chapter entitled *l’Abandon*, Vajda explores Ibn Bāqūdā’s views of

¹ Except Hebrew names and passages from the Scripture, which are left in Hebrew.

² *Hidāja*, 59 n. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 53-113, 59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 59 n. 1.

⁵ *Théologie*, 139.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

tawakkul ‘*alā Allāh*, which Vajda understands as human surrender to God.¹ After discussing the antinomy of predestination and free will, Vajda takes the *Qūt* as an example and states that while this book is ‘not entirely orthodox’, it conveys the pious attitudes of Sunnism with mystical flavours, in which we can study the ‘fluctuations and frictions’ between predestined fate and human responsibility.² This statement illustrates one of the characteristics of the *Qūt*, namely that it treats of common questions which would be posed by any believers in one God, whatever their orientation – either Sunni, Shī‘a, orthodox, mystic, Jew or Christian.

Mansoor (trans.), *The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*, 1973

In 1973, Mansoor published the whole English translation of *al-Hidāya* for the first time from Yahuda’s edition. In the introduction, Mansoor enumerates Arabic sources in Ibn Bāqūdā’s work, including writings of *kalām*, Sufism and *zuhd*, al-Makkī, al-Muḥāsibī, al-Mutanabbī and al-Ghazālī.³ Mansoor describes the *Qūt* as ‘the oldest treatise to deal with moral-asceticism in Islamic mysticism’⁴ and asserts that al-Makkī’s thought had an influence upon the planning of *al-Hidāya*.⁵ Mansoor emphasises the significant similarities between the two works and asserts that, although in a selective way, Ibn Bāqūdā borrows al-Makkī’s ideas.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 60-85.

² *Ibid.*, 63.

³ *Direction*, 25-36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 77 n. 70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 31-2.

Lobel, *A Sufi-Jewish Dialogue: Philosophy and Mysticism in Bahya ibn Paquḍa's Duties of the Heart*, 2007

Lobel, on the other hand, takes a more cautious approach to this matter in her *Dialogue*. In relation to the image of the heart, Lobel questions whether the doctrine of al-Muḥāsibī and al-Makkī is necessarily parallel to that of Ibn Bāqūdā.¹ Lobel also disagrees with Vajda's argument that the *Qūt* is the source of Ibn Bāqūdā's views of *muḥāsaba*, while admitting the existence of similarities between them.² She finds, however, that a sage to whom Ibn Bāqūdā refers concerning the internal knowledge of the heart is actually al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and points out that Ibn Bāqūdā reproduces this anecdote *verbatim* from the *Qūt*.³

Goodman, 'Bahya on the Antinomy of Free Will and Predestination', 1983;

***Jewish and Islamic Philosophy*, 1999;**

'What does Spinoza's *Ethics* Contribute to Jewish Philosophy?', 2002

Finally, this section looks at a possible influence of the Bible on al-Makkī. Goodman mentions that al-Makkī cites the Psalms and St. Matthew's Gospel in the *Qūt*, and draws attention to his familiarity not only with Islamic writing, but also Jewish and Christian literature.⁴ Moses and Jesus appear elsewhere in al-Makkī's writing.⁵

¹ *Dialogue*, 196.

² *Ibid.*, 319 n. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁴ Goodman, 'Spinoza's *Ethics*', 80 n. 19. According to Goodman, al-Makkī quotes Ps. 118:8 and Matt. 6:27 in the *Qūt* (1310 (AH) edition, 2.4). This is also discussed in another article by Goodman, 'Antinomy' (124 n. 23), giving a slightly different verse number for Matt., 6:25ff.

⁵ For the *Qūt*, see index in *Nahrung*, 4.161-2 (Jesus) and 183 (Moses); the *ʿIlm*, see index in *ʿIlm* (1964), 301 and 302 respectively.

Although this does not necessarily mean that he had a deep knowledge of the other two monotheistic religions, this might indicate some possible influence upon al-Makkī. This issue does not seem to have been investigated thoroughly.¹

Goodman describes al-Makkī as a ‘Muslim pietist writer’, who might have influenced Ibn Bāqūdā. According to Goodman, al-Makkī ‘loved to quote Scripture’ and his citations from the Sermon on the Mount ‘typify the cross-pollination and hybridization of themes’.² The 1310 (AH) edition of the *Qūt*, which Goodman consulted, is not available to me; however, from his description, the relevant places might be guessed to be in a section on total reliance on God (*tawakkul*).³

The first possible citation from the Psalms is «*It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man*».⁴ From the possible place in the *Qūt* to which Goodman might be referring in his article, it seems difficult to verify that al-Makkī’s statement is from the Psalms, due to very different phrasing and a too-common theme, which is argued elsewhere in the section on trust.⁵

As for a citation from the Sermon on the Mount, it appears to be easier to establish a link between the *Qūt* and the Gospel. The relevant verse in St. Matthew’s Gospel is «*Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor*

¹ Cf. Smith, who argues that some statements by al-Makkī echo certain Christian writings (e.g. *Rābi‘a*, 80 n. 2, 81 nn. 1, 2); however, a systematic comparison between them does not seem to have been carried out.

² Goodman, ‘Antinomy’, 124.

³ *Ibid.*, 124 n. 23. Goodman also mentions the relevant places in the *Ihyā’*.

⁴ Ps. 118:8 (King James).

⁵ The relevant verse in the Arabic Bible is *الاحتماء بالرب خير من التوكل على إنسان*. I could not find the exact phrase in the *Qūt*; however, from Goodman’s description, he might be referring to the place where al-Makkī emphasises the importance of trust in God only (لا ينبغي الثقة ولا السكون إلا إلى (الواحد القهار), otherwise it would be the entrance to infidelity (*Qūt*, 2.859).

gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?».¹ The same saying, with different wording, can be found in the *Qūt*, and al-Makkī acknowledges that this is from Jesus.² Goodman concludes that Ibn Bāqūdā also holds a similar view on the matter of total reliance upon God.³ Al-Muḥāsibī's influence on not only Muslim but also Jewish and Christian authors is mentioned,⁴ and, on the whole, Goodman seems to be trying to demonstrate a close interaction among thinkers of these three religions.⁵

In summary, it can be said that it is generally accepted that there is a link between al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā. The arguments in the above-mentioned works seem to revolve around the extent of the borrowing and originality of the latter. In these studies, al-Makkī is described as a pious writer on morals, *zuhd* and mysticism. Despite the large amount of citations from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* in the *Qūt*, the fundamental issues treated by al-Makkī seem to be considered as transferable to Judaism. As Goodman states, the reverse discussion would also be possible: to what

¹ Matt. 6:26 (King James).

² The relevant verse in the Arabic Bible is *انظروا إلى طيور السماء. إنها لا تزرع ولا تحصد ولا تجمع إلى مخازن. وأبوكم السماوي يقوتها. أليس أنتم بالحرى أفضل منها انظروا إلى الطير لا تزرع ولا تحصد*, while in the *Qūt*, *ولا تدخر، والله يرزقها يوماً بيوم، فإن قلتم: نحن أكبر بطوناً من الطير، فانظروا إلى الأنعام، كيف قيض الله لها هذا الخلق* (2.860).

³ Goodman, 'Antinomy', 125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 124. It should be mentioned that van Ess argues that one of al-Muḥāsibī's works, *Ri'āya*, opens with the Parable of the Sower from the New Testament (*Gedankenwelt*, 27-8).

⁵ Goodman's focus is on the Jewish-Muslim relationship, as evidenced by his book title: *Jewish and Islamic Philosophy: Crosspollinations in the Classic Age*.

extent al-Makkī is influenced by the Jewish and Christian traditions. Intellectual activities are interactive in general, and, in particular, interactions between Judaism, Christianity and Islam should not be seen as operating in one direction only.

CHAPTER 2:

MODERN SCHOLARSHIP ON AL-MAKKĪ, PART 2

2.1 STUDIES ON AL-MAKKĪ

As can be seen in the previous chapter and in the chronological list (Appendix XI), al-Makkī has been mentioned in numerous works from the end of the nineteenth century. But despite his frequent appearance in modern scholarship, the amount of research focusing on al-Makkī in particular is small. This chapter first examines the three main studies on al-Makkī carried out by Shukri, Amin and Gramlich. The introductions to the modern editions of the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*, and two articles on each work are also discussed. The second section then examines translations of the *Qūt*.

Shukri, ‘The Mystical Doctrine of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī as found in his Book *Qūt al-qulūb*’, 1976

The purpose of Shukri’s study is to investigate the life and works of al-Makkī, as well as his spiritual doctrines as found in the *Qūt*.¹ Shukri spends approximately one-sixth of his thesis explaining the historical background, the life, the teachers, the contemporaries, and the works of al-Makkī. After locating al-Makkī within the history of the formative period of Sufism, Shukri goes on to analyse al-Makkī’s doctrines in the *Qūt*. This is the main part of the thesis, which Shukri divides into religious life, mystical concepts, mystical life and mystic path.

These sections are particularly useful. Shukri examines how al-Makkī

¹ Shukri, ii.

elucidates essential elements of belief – for instance, faith¹ and the five pillars of Islam² – as well as his central arguments about the heart³ and knowledge,⁴ and his views on religious ‘states’ and ‘stations’.⁵ Shukri sometimes compares al-Makkī’s thought with other writers on Sufism, such as Hujwīrī⁶ and al-Ghazālī,⁷ occasionally with al-Sarrāj,⁸ and in a few cases with al-Kalābādhī.⁹

Shukri’s thesis is a pioneering work in research on al-Makkī and he succeeds in providing an overview of al-Makkī’s spiritual views in the *Qūt*. As its title indicates, the thesis provides little information about the first part of the book, where al-Makkī elucidates the external conduct of believers. Nor does this thesis make much use of al-Makkī’s alleged work, the *ʿIlm*, despite the fact that Shukri claims that this work can be confidently attributed to al-Makkī.¹⁰ On the whole, Shukri’s thesis is a good introduction to al-Makkī himself and the spiritual side of his teachings in the *Qūt*.

¹ *Ibid.*, 58-70.

² *Ibid.*, 71-133.

³ *Ibid.*, 147-67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 168-98.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 244-322. A religious station (*maqām*, pl. *maqāmāt*) is a stage or degree of mystical attainment to God, which is gained by human efforts. On the other hand, a state (*ḥāl*, pl. *aḥwāl*) is a mystical condition, which is generally understood to be given through Divine grace. Cf., e.g. Massignon, *Essai*, 41; *Sufism (A)*, 75.

⁶ E.g. Shukri, 112, 118-9, 133, 152 *et passim*.

⁷ E.g. *ibid.*, 120, 161, 168, 175-6, 187 *et passim*.

⁸ E.g. *ibid.*, 185, 193, 196, 235, 246-7, 261, 296.

⁹ E.g. *ibid.*, 193, 245.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 47-8.

Amin, ‘An Evaluation of the *Qūt al-qulūb* of al-Makkī with an Annotated Translation of his *Kitāb al-tawba*’, 1991

The aims of Amin’s study are to draw attention to al-Makkī’s contribution to Sufism, to provide a translation of an extract from the *Qūt* and to analyse its influence on a chapter of the *Iḥyā’*.¹

The first part of the thesis explains al-Makkī’s life² and works,³ as was the case in Shukri’s work. Amin’s additional studies on al-Makkī’s views of the use of *ḥadīth*⁴, and on the scholarship on him from the tenth century to Amin’s time⁵ are, while brief, useful. Nearly half of Amin’s thesis is spent on an annotated translation of an excerpt of the *Qūt* concerning repentance (*tawba*), which is the first time this passage has been translated into English.⁶ Amin discusses its originality⁷ and, after the translation, briefly compares al-Makkī’s idea of repentance with other Sufis’ works.⁸ The last chapter of the thesis analyses al-Makkī’s influence on al-Ghazālī, which can be seen in sections of the *Qūt* and the *Iḥyā’*, both entitled *Kitāb al-tawba*.⁹

Amin states that al-Ghazālī’s deep indebtedness to al-Makkī in the writing of the *Iḥyā’* has sometimes been pointed out but has not been studied exhaustively.¹⁰

Although Amin does not mention it, Nakamura wrote an article giving a comparative

¹ Amin, iii.

² *Ibid.*, 1-16.

³ *Ibid.*, 34-44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 16-20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20-34.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 53-154. See below for more detail about his translation.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 158-72.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 172-8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 190-220.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 190.

analysis of the two figures concerning their views of *wird* in their respective works, seven years earlier than Amin.¹ Amin's study of this particular aspect cannot therefore be said to be completely new. Nevertheless, his work should be acknowledged as a contribution to the confirmation of al-Makkī's influence on al-Ghazālī. On the whole, while Shukri's thesis provides an overview of al-Makkī and his mystical thoughts in the *Qūt*, Amin's study focuses on more specific aspects, namely al-Makkī's views of repentance and his impact on al-Ghazālī. The translation in Amin's thesis is of great use.²

Both Shukri and Amin have published an article on al-Makkī, in 1989 and 1999 respectively. But the reader who expects to find additional information and analysis to that presented in their theses will be disappointed. Shukri's article simply reproduces half of Chapter 1 of his thesis, almost word for word, and without adding any concluding remarks.³ Amin takes the same approach in his article, most of which is copied from his own thesis.⁴ His article begins without any introduction and ends with very brief concluding remarks, which do appear to have been added to

¹ Nakamura, 'Makkī and Ghazālī', 1984 (see below). Nakamura translated Book 9 of the *Iḥyā'*: al-Ghazālī, *al-Ghazālī on Invocations and Supplications*, trans. K. Nakamura, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1990.

² It has to be mentioned, however, that from time to time Amin misquotes and cites wrong page numbers in his thesis, which causes trouble to later researchers.

³ Shukri, 'al-Makkī and his *Qūt*'. The first two pages of the article are drawn mainly from pages 1-2 and 11 of the thesis, with some altered arrangement. The second section of the article is from Ch. 1.2, the third section is from Ch. 1.5 and the rest is from Ch. 1.4. Even such a phrase as 'before we proceed to discuss the other works of al-Makkī ...' (which are discussed in the thesis but not in the article), is reproduced (*ibid.*, 165; Shukri, 39).

⁴ Amin, 'al-Makkī': pp. 71-2 of the article are from Ch. 1.1-3 of the thesis with some modification, pp. 72-4 are from Ch. 1.4, p. 74 is from Ch. 4.2.1 and pp. 75-6 are from Ch. 1.6. Wrong information set out in the thesis is repeated in the article (see Appendix I).

the article rather than taken from his thesis;¹ however, since no question was posed at the beginning of the article, these seem irrelevant and require further elaboration. In the present thesis, these articles are hardly used.

In the studies by Shukri and Amin, the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* are regarded as mystical writings and the author, al-Makkī, as a Sufi. Neither of them seems to challenge this conventional image. While Shukri limits his argument to the *Qūt*, as indicated by the titles of both his thesis and article, Amin's article does not specify this. However, Amin does not extensively examine al-Makkī's alleged work, the *ʿIlm*, although he claims in his thesis that this book deserves more attention.² Amin's article does not mention Gramlich's translation of the *Qūt* either, which started to be published a year after his thesis was submitted, but seven years before his article was written.

Gramlich (trans.), *Die Nahrung der Herzen*, 1992-5

From 1992 to 1995, the German scholar Gramlich published a complete translation of the *Qūt*. This is a four-volume set whose last volume provides a select bibliography, a list of Qur'anic citations and an index. This index is extremely helpful, since the available Arabic editions of the *Qūt* do not contain one. While acknowledging the achievement and the convenience of this complete translation,

¹ Amin, 'al-Makkī', 76, where Amin concludes that al-Makkī is a 'traditionist *ṣūfī*', without defining what this means. The title of the article indicates that Amin considers al-Makkī as a 'traditional *ṣūfī*', but again it is not clear whether Amin differentiates the former type of Sufi from the latter.

² Amin, 35.

which Gramlich provides for German readers,¹ it has to be mentioned that his introduction is unexpectedly short compared to his massive work of translation.

The introduction is only thirteen pages long,² including three pages in which Gramlich discusses the manuscripts and modern editions used in his translation.³ The rest of the introduction provides a cursory study of al-Makkī's life, works and influence. This is disappointing for readers who might expect to find a thorough investigation into al-Makkī, especially in the light of the fact that Gramlich has also translated the works of al-Ghazālī⁴ and al-Suhrawardī,⁵ upon whom al-Makkī exerted a significant influence, as Gramlich himself points out.⁶ However, putting aside this unsatisfying start – which Böwering also criticises, describing it as a 'slim critical introduction'⁷ – this translation should undoubtedly be regarded highly in terms of enabling German readers to have easier access to the *Qūt*. Notably, Gramlich's characterisation of the *Qūt* as a 'true encyclopaedia of Islamic piety (wahre Enzyklopädie der islamischen Frömmigkeit)'⁸ does not use the words 'mysticism' or 'Sufi'.⁹

¹ See below for some comments on his translation.

² *Nahrung*, 1.11-23.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.21-3.

⁴ Al-Ghazālī, *Muḥammad al-Ġazzālīs Lehre von den Stufen zur Gottesliebe: Die Bücher 31-36 seines Hauptwerkes*, trans. R. Gramlich, Wiesbaden: Freiburger Islamstudien, 1984.

⁵ Al-Suhrawardī, *Gaben*, trans. Gramlich.

⁶ These two figures' works, the *Iḥyā'* and *Awārif al-ma'ārif*, are referred elsewhere in the notes of Gramlich's translation (especially the former). However, only passing comments can be found in the introduction (*Nahrung*, 1.16), when a proper analysis of this matter would be expected based on what he has found. Ch. 6.2 of this thesis will provide a more detailed discussion about the *Awārif*.

⁷ Böwering, review of *Nahrung*, vol. 1, 556.

⁸ *Nahrung*, 1.17. He is not the only scholar who describes the *Qūt* this way; e.g. Wensinck calls it 'un manuel de piété' (*Pensée*, 128).

⁹ See Ch. 7 for the discussion of how Gramlich sees al-Makkī's relation to Sufism.

Al-Raḍwānī (ed.), *Qūt al-qulūb*, 2001

A description similar to Gramlich's can also be found in al-Raḍwānī's introduction to his 2001 edition of the *Qūt*. Al-Raḍwānī, who is, like Gramlich, well acquainted with the whole text of the *Qūt*, describes it as 'the encyclopaedic work of Islam (*al-mawsū'at al-Islāmiyya*)' and calls al-Makkī 'one of the greatest *imāms* of Islamic mysticism'.¹ Among various modern editions of the *Qūt*, the 2001 edition seems to be the only version that includes an explanation of the manuscripts used in the book.² This section provides an outline of al-Raḍwānī's introduction.³

Al-Raḍwānī divides his introduction into three parts: descriptions of al-Makkī himself, the *Qūt*, and the manuscripts and the modern editions used for this edition.⁴ At the outset, al-Raḍwānī introduces an unpublished Master's dissertation entitled 'Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and his Sufi Path (*manhajuhu al-ṣūfī*)', written by 'Abd

¹ *Qūt*, 1.3.

² See Ch. 4.1 for further explanation of the modern editions of the *Qūt*.

³ The editor of the 2005 edition of the *Qūt*, al-Kayyālī, also writes a short introduction; however, there is no description of the manuscript(s) or modern edition(s) which he used in his edition. Al-Kayyālī shows his high respect for the *Qūt*, mentions al-Ghazālī's reliance on it in the *Ihyā'* and explains how widely the *Qūt* has been read among Sufis (*Qūt* (2005), 1.3-4). His additional information in the 2005 edition is a description of al-Makkī's use of weak *ḥadīth* and his biographical data. For the former point, the editor offers a long quotation from Section 31 of the *Qūt*, where al-Makkī explains his general attitudes towards the narration of *ḥadīth* and in which he argues that the meaning is more important than its precise phrasing (*ibid.*, 1.4; the citation is from *ibid.*, 1.298-9; cf. *Qūt*, 1.483-4). As for al-Makkī's life, the description seems to be a summary of Ibn Khallikān's account (*Wafayāt*, 4.303-4) with an additional comment claiming that al-Makkī filled the gap between the science of the internal aspects of the religion (*'ilm al-bāṭin*) and that of *sharī'a* (*Qūt* (2005), 1.6). At the end of the introduction, al-Kayyālī enumerates fourteen sources as further readings for al-Makkī (e.g. al-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar and so on), which are used elsewhere in this thesis (*ibid.*).

⁴ *Qūt*, 1.6-27. Before this, there is a preface, where al-Raḍwānī explains his motivation for editing this book, citing its importance (quoting sayings of al-Rundī and Ibn Taymiyya about the *Qūt*) and the lack of editions based on manuscripts (1.3-4).

al-Ḥamīd Madkūr and submitted to the University of Cairo in 1972.¹ Al-Raḍwānī refers to this study elsewhere in his introduction.

Al-Raḍwānī first discusses al-Makkī's life,² his teachers³ and his disciples.⁴ The introduction then has a section on al-Makkī's doctrines, which, according to al-Raḍwānī, are blameless (*salāma*) and far from innovation.⁵ After mentioning the works of al-Makkī,⁶ the editor highlights the importance of the *Qūt* by enumerating its major characteristics.⁷ Al-Raḍwānī regards the *Qūt* as a 'rich source for the life of a Muslim' and he argues that its core idea is a view that 'the life of a person stems from the life' of the heart.⁸ The editor underlines the significance of this work in the history of Islamic mysticism, and, at the same time, stresses that al-Makkī's argument is derived from the Qur'ān and *sunna*, emphasising the underlying flawlessness of the *Qūt* in the light of Islam.⁹

After briefly discussing the criticism of the *Qūt*¹⁰ and its influence,¹¹ al-Raḍwānī provides descriptions of five manuscripts (two from Egypt and three from Turkey), as well as what is according to him the oldest modern edition of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.6. Unfortunately this copy is not available to me.

² *Ibid.*, 1.6-7.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.7-10, where al-Raḍwānī enumerates eight figures.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.10. Al-Raḍwānī lists several figures as followers of al-Makkī, while stating that their number is small.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.10-13, where the editor analyses the apparently problematic saying of al-Makkī.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.14-17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.14-17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.17-18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1.18, where al-Raḍwānī quotes Madkūr and lists three main works upon which the *Qūt* exerts a significance influence: the *Iḥyā'* of al-Ghazālī, the *Ghunya* of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and *Awārif* of al-Suhrawardī.

Qūt, published in 1310/1892-3.¹ He goes on to explain how he used these in his edition² and ends the introduction with a few images of the manuscripts.³ On the whole, al-Raḍwānī seems to be attempting to prove the soundness of the views expressed about Islam in the *Qūt*. He describes al-Makkī's work as an excellent book on Sufism, but also a book on manners (*sulūk*).⁴ This accords with the basic idea of the *Qūt* which elucidates a need for close co-ordination between internal and external deeds.

‘Aṭā’ (ed.), *‘Ilm al-qulūb*, 1964, 2004

‘Aṭā’, who has edited the *‘Ilm*, makes a similar comment on this alleged work of al-Makkī.⁵ The editor mentions in the introduction that the *‘Ilm* elucidates the ‘foundations of proper religious manners’.⁶ Although the term ‘Sufi’ appears from time to time in the description of the work, and although ‘Aṭā’ refers to a great number of sayings by ascetics and Sufis cited in the *‘Ilm*,⁷ the editor claims that al-Makkī was not a *shaykh* of a Sufi order.⁸

In the introduction to the *‘Ilm*, the editor first describes the manuscript he

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.19-23 (see Ch. 4.1).

² *Ibid.*, 1.24-6.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.29-32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.18.

⁵ There are two editions of the *‘Ilm*, published in 1964 and 2004 respectively from different places. It seems clear that the later copy was published based on the previous one, with minor changes in arrangement. In this section, only the 2004 edition will be used (see Ch. 5.2 for detail about the editions of the *‘Ilm*).

⁶ *‘Ilm*, 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

used in his edition, as well as the contents of the book and its merits.¹ He then refutes a theory that had been put forward to question the authenticity of the work,² illustrates al-Makkī's life briefly³ and finally offers his opinion on a possible reason why people left al-Makkī when he apparently uttered a problematic statement in his preaching.⁴ It should be highlighted that the editor of the *ʿIlm* does not describe the book simply as an example of Sufi writing. The characteristics of this work include, according to him, an illustration of proper behaviour, which believers should perform with righteous intentions.⁵

It appears that according to Gramlich, al-Raḍwānī and 'Aṭā', the major arguments of al-Makkī's writing (setting aside for now the question of whether the *ʿIlm* is his work or not) revolve around right actions. Since ethical conduct is closely related to the internal activity of the heart, the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* attempt to elucidate the characteristics of this source of the believer's life. This internalisation of religious performance may be called mysticism. However, providing a description of Sufism does not seem to be al-Makkī's core motivation in his writing. It should be added immediately that this is not to say that the two books have nothing to do with Sufism. It is, rather, to suggest that the author's main concern appears to be to warn of the necessity of proper and God-fearing attitudes in this world, and, in order to

¹ *Ibid.*, 3-6.

² *Ibid.*, 6-10.

³ *Ibid.*, 10. Although it is not specified, the description of al-Makkī's life seems to be taken mainly from Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* (4.303-4) and al-Yāfi'ī's *Mir'āt al-janān* (2.430) with some comments by 'Aṭā' himself.

⁴ *ʿIlm*, 10-12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

support his argument, al-Makkī classifies numerous Qur’anic verses, Traditions and sayings of pious ancestors, including many Sufis, according to themes.

Nakamura, ‘Makkī and Ghazālī on Mystical Practices’, 1984

Finally, this section introduces two articles which analyse the *Qūt* and the *‘Ilm* respectively, but do not seem to have been used exhaustively in scholarship. The first article is by Nakamura, who carries out a comparative analysis of al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī.¹ While various scholars have pointed out the similarities between their writings, Nakamura’s article and Amin’s thesis seem to be the only studies which evaluate this issue methodically.² Nakamura first compares and contrasts the contents and arrangement of the *Qūt* and the *Ihyā’*, highlighting the parallels between them and concluding that the latter does not always follow the former, but often systematises it and sometimes refutes it.³

The article moves on to discuss the views on *wird*⁴ in the writings of al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī,⁵ and compares their theories of *dhikr* and *du‘ā* (invocation of God).⁶ Although Nakamura does not offer an overall conclusion, his basic

¹ Nakamura, ‘Makkī and Ghazālī’. This article is translated into Japanese and included in a collection of his articles on al-Ghazālī (*Isuramu-no shūkyō shisō*, 87-99).

² As Nakamura mentions (‘Makkī and Ghazālī’, 83), Lazarus-Yafeh enumerates passages which can be seen both in the *Qūt* and the *Ihyā’* and concludes that ‘we can discern immediately the extent to which the latter depends on the former’ (*Studies in al-Ghazzali*, 34-5 n. 19). While useful, this is a brief comparison.

³ Nakamura, ‘Makkī and Ghazālī’, 83-5.

⁴ Nakamura explains this term, in this context, as the ‘division of the daily hours into several parts (*awrād*) and allotment of the specific devotional practices to each of them’ (*ibid.*, 85).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 85-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 88-90.

argument, like Amin's,¹ is that al-Ghazālī's reliance on al-Makkī is evident, but that this is not a case of mere reproduction; rather, al-Ghazālī summarises, elaborates and systematises al-Makkī's work – which is indeed not famous for its organisation. Al-Ghazālī's indebtedness to al-Makkī can also be deduced from Gramlich's translation, where he refers to relevant parts of the *Iḥyā'* throughout, and I do not propose to add anything new on this issue in the present thesis.

Pūrjavādī, 'Bāzmāndahā-yi kitāb-i *al-Ishāra wa'l-'ibāra*-i Abū Sa'd-i Khargūshī dar kitāb-i *'Ilm al-qulūb*', 1999

The last work to be touched upon in this section is written by Pūrjavādī, who examines two books, the *'Ilm* and *al-Ishāra wa'l-'ibāra* ('The Sign and the Interpretation'), by Khargūshī (d. 406-7/1015-16).² Pūrjavādī claims in his article that the *'Ilm* was composed in the mid fifth/eleventh century and therefore is not a work of al-Makkī. Abū Sa'd (or Sa'īd) Khargūshī is an ascetic and known for his work *Tahdhīb al-asrār* ('Purification of the Hearts') and several other compilations,³ including a lost work, *al-Ishāra*.⁴ The very fact that this treatise existed was unknown until very recently; however, according to Pūrjavādī, some parts of it can be found in the *'Ilm*.⁵ Although the basis of his argument is not always possible to

¹ Amin, Ch. 5.

² Pūrjavādī; I would like to record my appreciation to Saba Photocopy & Translation Co. (Orumieh, Iran), which translated the article, and Ms Golnaz Nanbakhsh, who took the trouble to arrange the translation and helped me have a more precise understanding of the article.

³ *GAL*, 1.200, SI, 361; *GAS*, 1.670-1. See also *ET*², s.v. 'al-Khargūshī' (A.J. Arberry) and Arberry, 'Khargūshī's Manual of Ṣūfism'.

⁴ Pūrjavādī, 35. None of the above-mentioned works refer to this lost work.

⁵ *Ibid.*

verify, this article seems to be the only work which tackles the issue of the authenticity of the *ʿIlm*. This question and Pūrjavādī's article will be treated in greater depth in Chapter 5.

2.2 TRANSLATIONS OF THE *QŪT*

There seem to be four translations of the *Qūt*, both partial and whole, into European languages,¹ while none exists for the *ʿIlm*. These are, chronologically:²

- 1978: Douglas, 'the beard' [an excerpt from Section 36 of the *Qūt*],³
- 1991: Amin, 'the first religious station: repentance' [an excerpt from Section 32],⁴
- 1992-5: Gramlich, *Die Nahrung der Herzen* [the whole *Qūt*],
- 2004: Renard, 'knowledge' [Section 31].⁵

The following section focuses on Gramlich's complete translation of the *Qūt* into German and the manner in which he translates it, while the partial English renderings of the *Qūt* are also briefly discussed.

Gramlich (trans.), *Die Nahrung der Herzen*, 1992-5

Gramlich offers an annotated translation of the whole *Qūt* using its three modern editions and six manuscripts (only one of which is complete).⁶ In the process of translation, states Gramlich, an effort was made to keep as close to the original text

¹ Böwering, reviewing the *Nahrung*, mentions an Urdu translation of the *Qūt*, which was published in 1984 in Lahore. According to him, this translation was done by Muḥammad Manẓūr al-Wajīdī, who paraphrased the *Qūt* into 'simple' and 'accessible' Urdu with almost no annotation (review of *Nahrung*, vol. 2, 620). Unfortunately the present author does not have access to this translation nor knowledge of the language.

² Cf. Appendix XI, iii.

³ This is a translation of *Qūt*, 3.1316-24.

⁴ Amin, 53-154 [*Qūt*, 2.499-537].

⁵ *Knowledge*, 112-263 [*Qūt*, 1.363-489].

⁶ *Nahrung*, 1.21 (cf. Ch. 4.1).

as possible. Unfortunately, this does not produce a fluent German style and makes the translation difficult to read, as Gramlich himself admits.¹ As he also clearly points out, commentaries on the text are rarely added in his translation.² The *Nahrung* might be faithful to al-Makkī's work, but it leaves difficult words and unusual expressions, which need to be explained, unexplained.³ No identification is made, either, of the people who are cited in the *Qūt*.⁴ These points sometimes make the *Nahrung* even more difficult to understand, in addition to Gramlich's literal translation style.

It is also regrettable that Gramlich omits all the doxologies and eulogies to God, the Prophet Muḥammad and deceased pious worshippers in his *Nahrung*. This is because of the significant variations among the manuscripts he used for his translation, including regarding the use of eulogy.⁵ Doxology, however, is part of the source text and should not be disregarded in the process of translation, especially when a translator tries to stay as close to the text as possible. The way in which doxology is used can also be a useful tool of analysis for scholars and it is doubtful whether it is a translator's choice to include it or not.⁶

¹ Gramlich describes his translation as 'textnahe Übersetzung' rather than 'freie Übersetzung' (*Nahrung*, 1.23).

² *Ibid.*

³ Those points will appear in the footnotes of the translation in Ch. 4.2.

⁴ Although their death year in general appears in the index of the *Nahrung*.

⁵ *Nahrung*, 1.21-2.

⁶ The way in which doxology is used might be an interesting point of comparison with, for instance, the *Iḥyā'*. Al-Ghazālī often changes an expression of doxology even where he seems to copy the *Qūt* almost *verbatim*. For example, in one place in Book 21 of the *Iḥyā'* regarding the wonders of the heart, al-Ghazālī reproduces a passage from Section 30 of the *Qūt* on the characteristics of the heart with some modification in doxology: when al-Makkī writes عليه السلام after 'Alī, al-Ghazālī changes it to رضى الله عنه ; al-Ghazālī uses تعالى more than al-Makkī at least in this part; al-Ghazālī adds رضى الله عنه after the name of Ubayy b. Ka'b, whereas

Leaving aside these critical observations, it is undoubtedly useful that Gramlich provides us with the sources of *ḥadīth* and sayings cited in the *Qūt* throughout the *Nahrung*. He also often refers to al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* and al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif* in comparison with the *Qūt*. These references are meticulously carried out and succeed in offering us plentiful sources for further research. In addition, he provides a well selected bibliography and a helpful index in the last volume of the *Nahrung*.¹ In his review of this work, Böwering describes the *Nahrung* as a 'meticulously annotated' translation.² In a context of providing references and a substantial index, there is no doubt about the scholarly value of this German rendition. It would, however, have been increased greatly if the contents of the text were also annotated. In his three reviews, Böwering does not mention Gramlich's actual translation style.³ In Chapter 4 of this thesis, which provides a summarised translation of an excerpt from Section 30 of the *Qūt*, significant differences from Gramlich's German translation will be mentioned.

al-Makkī does not write any eulogy to him (*Qūt*, 1.333; *Iḥyā'*, 2.9-10). Whether there is any pattern in his alteration; if so what is the case for 'Alī and other Shī'ite *imāms*; whether al-Ghazālī's critical views of the Shī'a affect this – these questions cannot be explored if doxologies are omitted during the process of translation.

¹ Literaturverzeichnis (*Nahrung*, 4.7-25) and Analytischer Index (4.49-268). This volume also contains a list of the Qur'anic verses cited in the *Qūt* (4.27-47). It would have been more convenient if Gramlich could have provided a list of Arabic terminologies in transliteration and separately from an index of proper names. They are mixed in the existing index, which is more than 200 pages long, and a trial-and-error process is required to find Gramlich's German rendering for a given Arabic term. Nevertheless, his index is certainly useful, especially given that all the available Arabic copies of the *Qūt* do not contain one.

² Böwering, review of *Nahrung*, vol. 1, 556.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, vol. 2 and vol. 3 & 4.

Douglas, ‘The Beard’, 1978

Finally, this section discusses the three partial renditions of the *Qūt* into English. Douglas published a translation of a short excerpt on the beard from Section 36, which concerns the virtues of the people of *sunna* and the proper manners of the worthy ancestors.¹ In this small part, al-Makkī explains ‘wrong usages and modern innovations’ of the beard, its ‘practical applications’ and what is preferable.² As stated at the outset of the article,³ a commentary is not provided. Douglas offers the translation almost without any introduction or explanation, and it is rather obscure why he translated this particular part of the *Qūt*.

Amin, ‘An Evaluation of the *Qūt al-qulūb* of al-Makkī with an Annotated Translation of his *Kitāb al-tawba*’, 1991

In his PhD thesis, Amin provides a translation of the beginning of Section 32, regarding repentance (*tawba*). This section is the longest section in the *Qūt*, in which al-Makkī elucidates nine stations to attain religious certainty (*yaqīn*).⁴ Repentance is the first station, as it is commonly agreed among Sufis to be the first step on the ladder to the Truth.⁵

In Amin’s translation, Qur’anic verses, Traditions and people’s names, which are referred to by al-Makkī, are identified. Amin also provides annotations for some terminologies in the notes. However, it might have been clearer if he had

¹ *Qūt*, 3.1306-28.

² Douglas, ‘Beard’, 100-5 [*Qūt*, 3.1316-20] and 105-10 [*Qūt*, 3.1320-4].

³ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁴ *Qūt*, the whole vol. 2.

⁵ E.g. *Ta’arruf*, 92-3; *Luma’*, 43-4; *Kashf*, 294-9.

clarified certain important concepts of the *Qūt* and Sufism, for instance *hawā* and *nafs*.¹ This could have contextualised the work within the history of Sufism, especially since Amin regards the *Qūt* as a Sufi writing and attempts to analyse al-Makkī's view on 'one of the most important stations of the Ṣūfīs' in this translation.² After the translation, Amin compares al-Makkī's *kitāb al-tawba* with that in the *Iḥyā'*.³

Renard, *Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism*, 2004

In this work, Renard offers a translation of nine early texts on knowledge.⁴ One of them is Section 31 of the *Qūt*, which contains the *kitāb al-ʿilm*.⁵ Renard describes the characteristics of al-Makkī's approach in the *Qūt* as 'the most broadly tradition-based', since he 'so prominently canonizes' the way of pious ancestors as the model of believers.⁶ This section begins with a famous *ḥadīth* regarding the religious duty to seek knowledge, discusses the essential qualities of *ʿilm*, the excellence of gnosis (*maʿrifa*) and religious certainty, and warns against innovative

¹ *Hawā* is a key Qur'anic concept, which Amin renders as 'worldly desire' (Amin, 54) and 'passion' (*ibid.*, 57). Its close connection with the self, *nafs*, is often discussed among Sufis, as al-Makkī does at the beginning of Section 32 (*Qūt*, 2.499; Amin, 54). Al-Makkī differentiates the lower self, *nafs*, from a pure aspect of the soul, *rūḥ*, as Sufis do. Amin seems to translate the former as 'soul' in general and the latter as 'spirit' (*ibid.*, e.g. 54, 57, 64). It would have been clearer if Amin explained the background of these terms and how al-Makkī uses them in the *Qūt*. Cf. *Kashf*, 196-200, 207-8; Ch. 4.2 [16] and its note, [21], [112].

² Amin, 44.

³ *Ibid.*, 192-222.

⁴ *Knowledge*, 65-374. These nine authors are al-Sarrāj, al-Kalābādhī, al-Makkī, Hujwīrī, al-Qushayrī, Anṣārī, al-Ghazālī, Ibn al-ʿArīf and al-Suhrawardī.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 112-263; this is the longest text, as Renard points out, of the nine translations.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 112; at the same time, continues Renard, al-Makkī 'consistently argues for a flexibility and vitality in that traditionalist paradigm that will surprise many twenty-first century readers'.

scholars, story-tellers and personal opinion.¹ As can be seen elsewhere in the *Qūt*, al-Makkī quotes an abundance of Qura'nic verses, *ḥadīth* and pious sayings to establish his argument.

In the translation, Renard identifies the verse numbers and the people cited in Section 31, explains certain Arabic terms and refers to Gramlich's translation. In the *Knowledge*, Renard succeeds in rendering al-Makkī's Arabic into clear English, which enables English readers to become familiar with al-Makkī's text in the context of classical Sufi writings. At the beginning of the book, al-Makkī's life and the *Qūt* are introduced; however, his alleged work, the *ʿIlm*, is not mentioned at all.² The expression, *ʿilm al-qulūb*, appears in various places in Section 31³ and a certain amount of similar topics in this section and the *ʿIlm* could have been discussed.⁴ Although Renard might agree with Karamustafa,⁵ who accepts Pūrjavādī's conclusion regarding the inauthenticity of this book, this issue should be touched upon, since the question of the authorship of the *ʿIlm* has not yet been clearly solved.

On the whole, Chapters 1 and 2, and the lists in Appendix XI, show that al-Makkī has

¹ *Qūt*, 1.363.

² *Knowledge*, 33-8.

³ E.g. *Qūt*, 1.364 [*Knowledge*, 114; Renard translates *ʿilm al-qulūb* as 'the science of hearts'], *Qūt*, 1.374 [*Knowledge*, 126], *Qūt*, 1.377 [*Knowledge*, 129].

⁴ E.g. the *ʿIlm* has a chapter on the above-mentioned *ḥadīth* regarding seeking knowledge as a religious duty (*ʿIlm*, 78-83).

⁵ Karamustafa writes a preface for Renard's book.

been studied in various fields, not only in the area of mysticism and asceticism, or the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, but also in studies of Satan, Jesus, Jewish pietism, and some areas of social sciences, for instance, *ṭabaqāt*, the role of preacher, and sex and society. This does not, however, indicate necessarily that al-Makkī's intellectual curiosity includes historical and sociological issues. His main (and possibly only) concern in his writing seems to be how to become a good believer. This involves various levels of human life, since a true believer requires a proper disposition both inwardly and outwardly. In light of this, the *Qūt* may be described as a spiritual manual for a code of behaviour. It should be reiterated here that there are few studies which properly discuss the *ʿIlm* and its uncertain origin.

As for possible areas of research, investigation not only of al-Makkī's link with al-Sālimiyya or al-Ghazālī, but also his alleged role in portraying al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as an early mystic, should provide interesting perspectives on the *Qūt*. Al-Makkī's relation with Ibn Ḥanbal and Ḥanbalī scholars seems to deserve further investigation. This could also shed light on intellectual currents in the early history of Islam. It is quite possible that the basic components of Islam were perceived differently at this time from what we would expect nowadays, particularly regarding such matters as the four Sunni *madhhabs*, Sunni-Shī'a relations and the Sufi orders, which had not yet been formally established at the time of al-Makkī.

From the range of fields that have been and could be explored in the study of al-Makkī, we may wonder what Sufism meant to al-Makkī. It would therefore be

worth exploring whether and to what extent al-Makkī's view of religion can operate in other religions, because this could serve the quest for the meaning of mysticism. Whatever the author's intention is, the *Qūt* has been widely read among Sufis. Mystics may sound like those who completely dismiss worldly affairs in their role as seekers after the Truth. However, this does not seem to be the case in relation to mystics in Islam, or in the *Qūt* at least. As we have seen in Kinberg's discussion of the nature of *zuhd*,¹ given that this world is a test from God, believers cannot and should not disregard it. The *Qūt* teaches how a believer ought to live, and this observance of religion as a way of life is certainly a general concern beyond Islam.

¹ Kinberg, 'Zuhd', 44. See Ch. 1.2.2.

PART 2:

QŪT AL-QULŪB AND ‘ILM AL-QULŪB

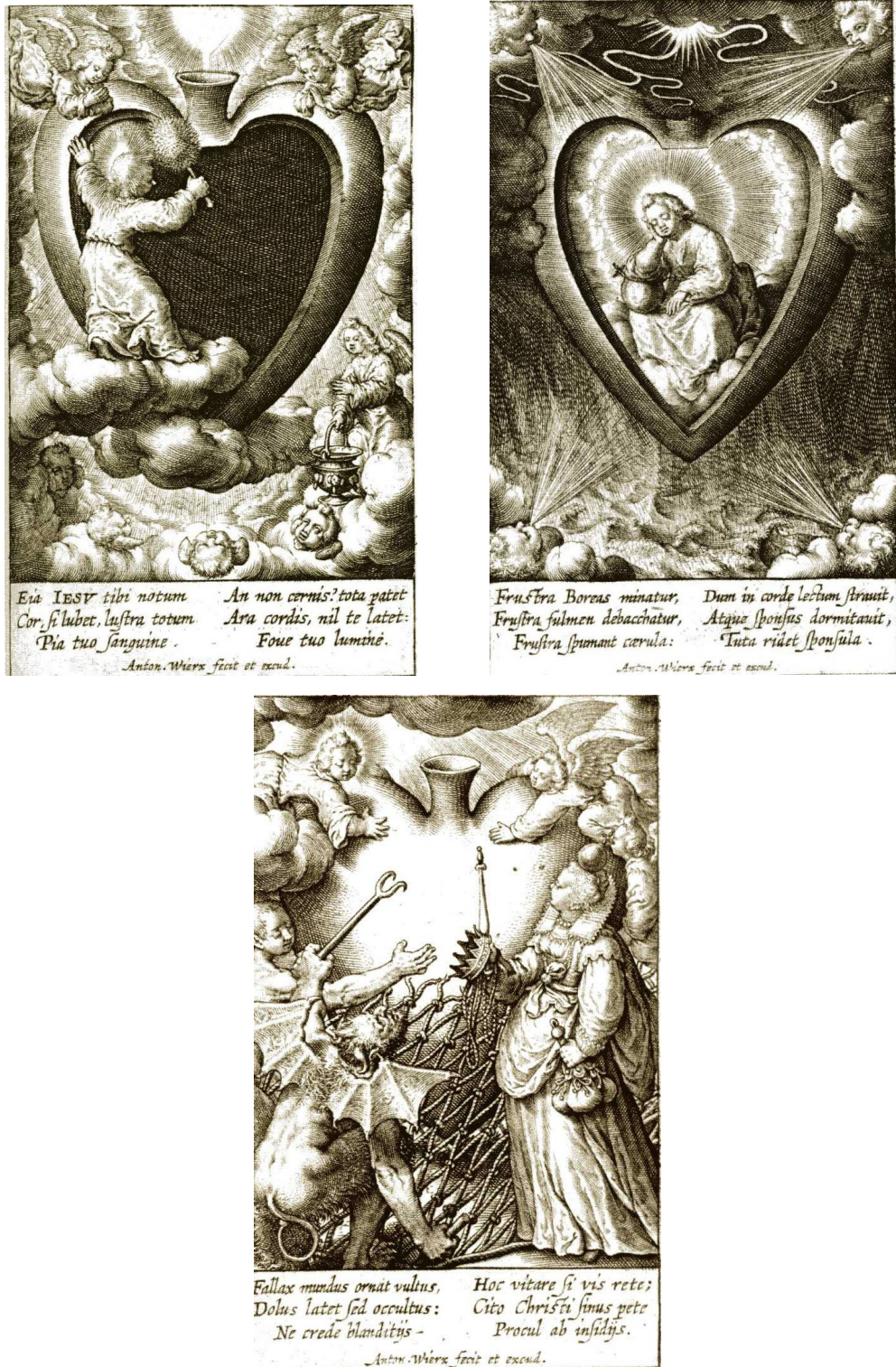


Image: Anton Wierix (Belgium, 1552-1624), ca. 1600, engraving with etching on paper, 7.8 x 5.6 cm. **Top left:** Christ cleans the believer's heart, assisted and venerated by angels. **Top right:** Christ as Groom sleeping in the believer's heart; it is safe in wind and storm. **Bottom:** Christ preserves the believer's heart from false worldly decoration, captivity and pain.

(Sargen, 'The Sacred Heart: Christian Symbolism' in *Heart*, ed. Peto, 113.)

CHAPTER 3:

INTRODUCTION TO *QŪT AL-QULŪB*

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the *Qūt* and provide a summarised translation of an extract that elucidates the symbolic role played by the heart in his ethical writing. This chapter first discusses the mystical idea of the heart in the early stages of Sufism, the major religious authorities whom al-Makkī cites in the *Qūt*, and the overall contents of this work. In order to situate the *Qūt* and its author within the history of Islam, this chapter ends by comparing al-Makkī with two of his contemporaries: al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī.

3.1 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

3.1.1 THE MYSTICAL IDEA OF THE HEART IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF SUFISM

The heart as a metaphysical entity

The heart is a unique organ. This is not simply because it is the sole organ that pumps blood around the body. This is also because the heart is often considered to be the seat of emotion and representative of one's true character. This notion is deeply rooted in everyday language. Even after medical science proved the potency of the brain, it is still the heart which is frequently featured as a salient spiritual symbol in various cultures. In the Qur'ān, the term *qalb* (heart) and its plural *qulūb* appear

approximately 130 times.¹ Its root, *qalaba*, signifies ‘to alter, turn, invert’ and an expression from its derivative, *muqallib al-qulūb* (the turner of hearts), designates God.²

Among Sufis, the heart is often treated as the only organ that can reflect Divine light. As can be seen in the so-called Light Verse,³ God is often illustrated as light which beams down into the heart of the believer who has reached the stage of absolute religious certainty (*yaqīn*). The light of certainty is a beam from God, cast by God Himself by Divine grace. By this light the heart sees God.⁴ The heart is therefore to be polished as a mirror and kept cleansed from sin.

Smith points out that the teaching of purification of the heart in Islam can be found in the New Testament.⁵ Christianity indeed places an emphasis on this need. Syriac Christians are known to have used the image of the polished mirror of the heart as clearly reflecting God’s beauty. They lay stress on Divine light and love, and practise fasting and recollection of the Divine name.⁶ The images that head this section show an image of the heart of the Christian follower as a place where Christ dwells after personal improvement by Divine grace. The spiritual importance of the

¹ *Mawsū‘a*, 918.

² Lane, 2.2552-5. This expression does not appear in the Qur’ān.

³ «*God is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a shining star. (This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil would almost glow forth (of itself) though no fire touched it. Light upon light, God guideth unto His light whom He will. And God speaketh to mankind in allegories, for God is Knower of all things*» (24:35). (Although Pickthall generally uses the word ‘Allah’ for الله in his *Glorious Qur’an*, ‘God’ is used throughout this thesis.)

⁴ Without God’s light, it is impossible to see Him. Nicholson quotes a saying which explains this well: ‘Tis the sun’s self that lets the sun be seen’ (*Mystics of Islam*, 37).

⁵ Smith, *Early Mysticism*, 150-2.

⁶ *Syriac Fathers*, trans. Brock, see esp. xxix-xxx, 192, 203.

heart also appears in the Old Testament,¹ and in fact it can be said that this is a shared concept in various cultures and religious traditions from ancient Egypt, ancient Greece, Hinduism and Buddhism to the Aztec civilisation of Mexico.²

Sufis, therefore, are not the only people who attach a spiritual role to the heart. With this in mind, this section offers an overview of the image of the heart in the early history of Islamic mysticism. It focuses on the teaching of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), since he is often regarded as a notable 'religious psychologist' among early Sufis.³ Al-Makkī's *Qūt* gained great popularity in Sufi circles and the extract in this thesis is often used by later prominent mystics.⁴ The significance of this excerpt is not just that it summarises the core idea of the *Qūt*,⁵ it is also that it reflects the spiritual image of the heart in Islam, which al-Makkī illustrates in detail with numerous citations from the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and the sayings of pious ancestors.

Images of the heart in the early history of Sufism

The famous ascetic in the Umayyad period, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728),⁶ is reported to have said: 'Cleanse ye these hearts (by meditation and remembrance of

¹ The Hebrew term *lev* (heart) and its variations appear more than 800 times in the Old Testament. This word is generally rendered as either 'heart' or 'soul' (Sargent, 'Sacred Heart' in *Heart*, ed. Peto, 102). Cf. *Gedankenwelt*, 145, about *lev* and *qalb*.

² A good overview can be found in Young, 'Human Heart' in *Heart*, ed. Peto, 1-30.

³ *Mysticism*, 43.

⁴ E.g. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and al-Suhrawardī; see Ch. 6.2 for detail.

⁵ Shukri has a section on al-Makkī's concept of the heart, wherein he emphasises the importance of understanding this central doctrine, upon which al-Makkī's argument is based (Shukri, 147-67).

⁶ Al-Ḥasan appears in the *Qūt* nearly 200 times (*Nahrung*, 4.141-3); see Ch. 3.1.2.

God), for they are quick to rust'.¹ Whether al-Ḥasan considered himself a mystic is unknown. It is certain, however, that he is frequently referred to by later Sufis. One of the reasons for this may lie in his emphasis on works (*a'māl*), both internally and externally. Al-Ḥasan views each action as being based on the work of the heart, which should contemplate nothing else but the Hereafter. The believer's task in this world is to cultivate such a heart in a God-fearing (*taqwā*) state.²

Rābi'a al-ʿAdawiyya (d. 185/801),³ the famous female mystic, presents a more allegorical image of the heart. According to Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/945), she stresses that it is not only her heart that is directed towards God, but that all her limbs are hearts which are also aiming at Him.⁴

This idea of the heart as an important esoteric organ is frequently repeated by later Sufis who stress the importance of having a close link with the Truth. Among them is al-Muḥāsibī, who has inspired numerous religious figures.⁵ The core idea of al-Muḥāsibī's teachings is the separation of the inner (*bāṭin*) sphere from the outer (*ẓāhir*) realm.⁶ Based upon the Qur'ān, he regards the heart as the essential internal entity of the believer. It is the heart, according to al-Muḥāsibī, that God 'wants from His servants', and 'their members are to follow their hearts'.⁷ The heart can hear

¹ Nicholson, 'Origin and Development of Sufism', 305. This statement may be from the Qur'ān (83:14); see Ch. 4.2 [12].

² *Theology*, 51-2.

³ Rābi'a appears in the *Qūt* fourteen times (*Nahrung*, 4.199). For a detailed discussion of al-Makkī's comments on her sayings, see Smith, *Rābi'a*, *passim*.

⁴ *Luma'*, 91; cf. *Dimensions*, 78.

⁵ Al-Makkī cites al-Muḥāsibī seven times in the *Qūt* (*Nahrung*, 4.188).

⁶ E.g. al-Muḥāsibī, *ʿIlm*, 83.

⁷ *Ri'āya*, 243.

both the voice of God and the whisperings of Satan. It is therefore the heart that has power to decide between the two voices. The actions of the members (*a'māl al-jawāriḥ*) are external conduct, while the actions of the heart (*a'māl al-qalb*) are the origins of the external actions of the body.¹

The heart also has sight. 'The Hidden is not seen by the eye', writes al-Muḥāsibī, 'He is seen by the heart through the true states of religious certainty (*ḥaqā'iq al-yaqīn*)'.² If knowledge of the heart and its actions are righteous, this will lead the believer to God. On the other hand, if the heart of a believer becomes defiled, external actions will be sullied: the believer will then not attain salvation but experience perdition, as God has let the heart know fear (*khawf*).³

Al-Muḥāsibī emphasises the importance of following the Qur'ān, *sunna* and the moral examples of venerable ancestors,⁴ and recommends the readers not to adhere to reason (*'aql*), but 'make knowledge (*'ilm*) a guide'.⁵ Knowledge is light and gnosis (*ma'rifa*) is the greatest gift from God, that which makes believers come close to Him. Gnosis can be achieved by their pious activities and God's mercy. Only with His grace can the heart of the believers come near to Him.⁶ This is why it is important, insists al-Muḥāsibī, to keep the heart pure and capable so that God leads it to Him if He wills.⁷ Al-Muḥāsibī states that if a believer 'gives preference to God'

¹ *Gedankenwelt*, 36; *Early Mystic*, 87.

² *Ri'āya*, 24.

³ *Ibid.*, 25; cf. *Early Mystic*, 88.

⁴ *Mustarshid*, 31; cf. *Ri'āya*, 45-6.

⁵ *Ri'āya*, 45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 64; *Mustarshid*, 29, 32.

⁷ *Mustarshid*, 29; *Ri'āya*, 3.

other than anything else, 'God will be fond of him'.¹

These are the core theories of al-Muḥāsibī. This spiritual idea of the heart was not taught only in Baghdad, where al-Muḥāsibī and his disciples established the Baghdadi Sufi tradition,² nor in Basra, where al-Ḥasan and al-Rābi'a were active. These symbolic images are, as underlined by al-Muḥāsibī, supported by the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and pious sayings, and were also used by various personalities outside these two intellectual centres.³ The importance of the heart can also be seen in the discourse of the so-called 'intoxicated' type of mystics,⁴ not only in the argumentation of the spiritually 'sober' Sufis, like al-Muḥāsibī.

3.1.2 THE RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES WHO ARE CITED IN THE *QŪT*

In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī mentions numerous religious figures. He also cites sayings anonymously. This section first enumerates twelve authorities whose names appear

¹ *Mustarshid*, 32. For al-Muḥāsibī's views of the heart, see *Gedankenwelt*, 35-6; *Early Mystic*, 86-110.

² Among the Baghdadi Sufis, Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907-8) should be mentioned, who wrote *Maqāmāt al-qulūb*. In this treatise he writes, 'Know that God Most High created a house inside the believer, [which is] called the heart'; He then cleans the house, protects it from evil and takes up residence there ('Textes mystiques inédits' by Nwyia, 131-2). This statement echoes the cover image of this section. Al-Makkī cites al-Nūrī twice in the *Qūt* (*Nahrung*, 4.195).

³ Karamustafa, for example, points out the common elements, including the role of the image of the heart, in the teachings of the Baghdadi Sufis and those of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) who is from south-west Iraq (*Sufism (K)*, 42). In a completely separate community from Iraq, present-day Uzbekistan, al-Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/912) also states that the heart is the place which can receive gnosis, after carnal desires have disappeared (*ibid.*, 45). Al-Makkī cites al-Tustarī approximately 200 times (see Ch. 3.1.2), while al-Tirmidhī appears only once in the *Qūt* (*Nahrung*, 4.107-9, 233 respectively).

⁴ Al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr al-Hallāj (d. 309/922), for example, points out that the heart is 'the essential part of man' (Massignon, *Passion*, 3.19) and states that 'every heart [which] abandons [all] but God sees the Invisible and His hidden meanings' (al-Hallāj, *Akhbar al-Hallaj*, 71 [Arabic]). According to the Qur'ān, al-Hallāj writes, the heart is 'the seat of knowledge and of consciousness' and 'the place of sacramental union between the body and the soul' (Massignon, *Passion*, 3.28). Al-Makkī refers to him only once in the *Qūt* (*Nahrung*, 4.137).

most frequently in the book. It goes on to discuss al-Makkī's choice of quotations and analyses the possible sources of his inspiration in writing the *Qūt*.

Three figures are mentioned most frequently in the *Qūt*, appearing approximately 200 times. These are, chronologically, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896).¹ ‘Alī is undoubtedly one of the most significant personalities in Islam, and the latter two are also influential, especially within the ascetic and mystical dimensions of Islam. ‘Alī and al-Ḥasan constantly appear throughout the *Qūt*, while al-Makkī refers to al-Tustarī mainly in Section 32, on the stations of religious certainty.²

The second most cited authorities in the *Qūt* are ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644), ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-‘Abbās (d. 68/687) and Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), mentioned around 150-170 times.³ ‘Umar, the second caliph in Sunnism, and al-Thawrī, a legal scholar, are mentioned throughout the *Qūt* on various topics. Ibn al-‘Abbās, the father of Qur’anic exegesis, also appears throughout the book, but particularly on the matter of Qur’anic interpretation.

The next group of figures, who appear in the *Qūt* around 100-130 times, are ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 32/653), ‘Ā’isha bt. Abī Bakr (d. 58/678), ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 74/693), Anas b. Mālik Abū Ḥamza (d. 91-3/709-11), Abū Naṣr Bishr al-Ḥāfī (d. 227/841) and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855).⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 4.73-5, 141-3, 207-9 respectively.

² See Ch. 3.2 for a detailed explanation of the contents of the *Qūt*.

³ *Nahrung*, 4.237-9, 50-1, 224-6 respectively.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.52-4, 72-3, 55-6, 79, 91-2, 71-2 respectively.

Throughout the *Qūt*, al-Makkī cites Ibn Mas'ūd, a famous Companion of the Prophet, 'Ā'isha, the beloved wife of the Prophet, Ibn 'Umar, a moral exemplar of the first generation of Muslims, and Anas b. Mālīk, a prolific traditionalist. On the other hand, Bishr, a known Sufi, and Ibn Ḥanbal, a prominent scholar in Islam, hardly appear in the first twenty sections of the *Qūt*.

The list of these twelve religious authorities in the *Qūt* clearly indicates that this book is based on Tradition, the Qur'ān and moral anecdotes of pious ancestors. It should be mentioned that al-Thawrī, a 'ḥadīth-oriented' law scholar, differentiates himself from those who are in favour of personal opinion (*ra'y*) and speculative judgement, such as Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767).¹ Inclination towards Tradition and aversion to *ra'y* match al-Makkī's views of the use of *ḥadīth* in the *Qūt*, where he quotes Ibn Ḥanbal and agrees with his opinion.²

It is interesting to note that among these religious figures, Bishr is said to have turned his back on *ḥadīth* studies. He was disgusted by the hypocrisy of Traditionists and emphasised the importance of actual deeds rather than mere intellectual knowledge in the pursuit of a pious way of life.³ Presumably, this latter point also suits al-Makkī who, although he never turns away from Traditions, lays

¹ *ET*², s.v. (H.P. Raddatz).

² Al-Makkī cites Ibn Ḥanbal and states that even if a certain Tradition is not supported by a perfect *isnād*, it is still better than personal opinion (*ra'y*) or reasoning (*qiyās*), if its contents are in accordance with the Qur'ān, Sunna and the consensus (*ijmā'*) of the *umma* (*Qūt*, 1.486-7). For al-Makkī's attitudes towards *ḥadīth*, see also Amin 16-20.

³ Cf. *ET*², s.v. (F. Meier); Massignon, *Essai*, 230-1. Bishr's relation with Ibn Ḥanbal is not clear. Meier states that Bishr was 'greatly respected' by Ibn Ḥanbal, while Massignon argues that the former 'entered into conflict' with the latter (*ibid.*, 231). Cooperson says that they are often compared as 'rival' heroes by scholars and mystics ('Ibn Ḥanbal and Bishr al-Hāfi', 73).

great stress on conduct. More than half of al-Makkī's book concerns actual practices. Inner aspects of belief are dealt in the middle of the work including Section 32, where al-Makkī quotes al-Tustarī throughout.

Apart from al-Tustarī and Bishr, al-Makkī also refers to many mystics. Notable figures, who one would expect to be cited in Sufī writing, include 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd (d. ca. 150/767) and Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 185/801), who appear in the *Qūt* fourteen times each; Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. ca. 215/830), eighty times; al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), seven times; Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860), twenty-one times; Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. ca. 261/875), twenty-six times; Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz (d. 277/890), ten times; Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), three times; al-Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 297/910), fifty-eight times; al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/912) and al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), only once each; and Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/945) is not mentioned at all.¹

It is said that al-Dārānī, who appears throughout the *Qūt*, does not seem to have considered himself as a Sufī. He is rather an adherent to *zuhd*, and lays emphasis on fear of God and humility, and the importance of examining the actions of the heart and the body members.² Al-Junayd, famous for his sobriety, appears from time to time in the *Qūt*, and on the whole it seems that al-Makkī's inclination in citation is towards ascetic and sober sayings. He keeps highlighting the significance of righteous deeds based on righteous conduct of the heart. It is highly possible that

¹ All the information is from *Nahrung*, vol. 4 [index].

² *Mysticism*, 37-8. Cf. *Kashf*, 112-13.

al-Makkī favours moderate behaviour in society which is in accordance with the Sharīʿa.¹

Concerning al-Makkī's relationship with the Sālimiyya school, it should be mentioned that while al-Tustarī is referred to throughout Section 32, his disciple Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d. 297/909) appears only once in the *Qūt* and his son Aḥmad Ibn Sālim (d. ca. 356/967) thirteen times.² These numbers seem to be quite small, given the link with al-Sālimiyya.

Lastly, regarding the founders of the Sunni law schools, Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) appears only four times in the *Qūt*,³ Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) twenty-eight times and al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) twenty-six times.⁴ Since Ibn Ḥanbal is cited approximately a hundred times, it seems that al-Makkī takes a Ḥanbalī position on legal issues. The *Qūt* is, however, not a juridical work. Ibn Ḥanbal appears mainly in Section 31, which elucidates the nature of knowledge, and Section 47, which has a segment on him. Keeping al-Makkī's choice of quotations in mind, the next section examines the contents of the *Qūt*.⁵

3.2 THE CONTENTS OF THE *QŪT*

The *Qūt* does not contain an introduction by the author himself;⁶ however, the aim

¹ E.g. *Qūt*, 1.341.

² *Nahrung*, 4.186, 71 respectively.

³ This might be because of the reason mentioned above.

⁴ *Nahrung*, 4.65, 176, 206 respectively.

⁵ Al-Makkī is thought to have composed several more works; however, the *Qūt* seems to be the only book which has survived (as well as the *ʿIlm*, if this is his writing). For a detailed discussion of his works, see Appendix III.

⁶ The modern editions of the *Qūt* have an introduction which briefly describes the contents of the

and intended audience of this book can be conjectured from the title. Its full title is *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'āmalat al-maḥbūb wa wasf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd* ('The Nourishment of Hearts in Relation to the Beloved and the Description of the Path of the Novice to the Station of *tawḥīd*¹'). Two main aims can be seen here. One is to provide an account of how to nurture the heart in dealing with God. The other is a guideline for novices to reach the station of *tawḥīd*. From the title, then, the main target audiences of this book can be assumed to be believers who would like to learn proper behaviour towards God, and novices who are embarking on a path which leads them to *tawḥīd*.

The *Qūt* is divided into forty-eight sections (*fuṣūl*, sing. *faṣl*). The length of each section varies considerably, from one page to more than one thousand pages in a modern edition. The *Qūt* is full of Qur'anic verses, *ḥadīth* quotations and sayings of Sufis and pious ancestors. They are selected according to themes and many sections start either with Qur'anic verses or words of the Prophet Muḥammad, which are followed by various other pious sayings to expand the theme. Al-Makkī sometimes

book (e.g. *Qūt*, 1.3-8). Al-Raḍwānī claims that this is 'clearly' not al-Makkī's writing and guesses that it was probably added by one of his disciples (*ibid.*, 1.8 n. 1). As al-Raḍwānī states, the contents of the introductory part of the *Qūt* vary according to the manuscripts (see, e.g. Escorial Ms. árabe 729, 2v; Chester Beatty Ms. 3698, 1v).

¹ *Tawḥīd* is a key notion of Islam, which designates pure monotheistic belief, namely, 'an absolute denial of anything being associated with God' (*Theology*, 67); cf. *EL*², s.v. (D. Gimaret). In Sufi tradition, the active part of this concept, being the verbal noun *wahḥada*, is also emphasised, i.e. 'unification' and 'making into one', as well as the declaration of Divine Unity. A well-known definition is given by al-Junayd who states that *tawḥīd* consists in 'the separation of the Eternal from that which was originated in time' (*Sufism (A)*, 57). He is also reported by Ibn Taymiyya to have said that *tawḥīd* is a 'saying of the heart', while *tawakkul* (total reliance on God) is a 'doing of the heart' (*Theology*, 173). Hujwīrī explains three sorts of *tawḥīd*: 'God's unification of God', 'God's unification of His creatures' and 'men's unification of God' (*Kashf*, 278; see the whole chapter on *tawḥīd*, 278-85). Since I cannot find any English term which embraces all the implications of *tawḥīd*, the Arabic word is used throughout this thesis in order to avoid giving a misleading idea of the role of this essential notion in Sufism and Islam.

starts a section with a brief explanation of a theme which is immediately supported by the Qur’ān and *ḥadīth*. As can also be seen in the books of his contemporaries, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī, the arguments advanced by al-Makkī are not always necessarily stated in his own words. It is therefore important to examine the structure and contents of the book in order to grasp al-Makkī’s objectives and intentions,¹ as well as to locate the thirtieth section, a summarised translation of which will be provided shortly, within the whole picture.

The *Qūt* starts with a section concerning good conduct in this world.² This section consists of thirteen Qur’anic verses and begins with a verse from Chapter 17 regarding the Hereafter:

*«And whoso desireth the Hereafter and striveth for it with the effort necessary, being a believer; for such, their effort findeth favour (with their Lord)».*³

The following verses concern various ways to enter Paradise; for instance, striving for God and good deeds in this world.⁴ They emphasise that true belief in God and right conduct are the key to being close to God, and that Paradise is a reward for righteous deeds in this world. Al-Makkī closes the first section with a verse accentuating the significance and consequences of conduct:

*«For them is the abode of peace with their Lord. He will be their Protecting Friend because of what they used to do».*⁵

¹ Shukri and Amin also briefly set out the contents of the *Qūt* (Shukri 40-1; Amin 42-3). Nakamura discusses them as well in comparison with those of the *Iḥyā’* (‘Makkī and Ghazālī’, 84-5).

² *Qūt*, 1.9.

³ 17:19.

⁴ 42:20, 53:39-41, 69:24, 6:132, 34:37, 7:43, 32:17, 29:58-9.

⁵ 6:127.

The second section of the *Qūt* also consists of Qur'anic verses only.¹

Al-Makkī quotes twenty-one verses concerning the merit of private worship day and night.² They underline the importance of the remembrance of God and praise for Him throughout the day, and also concern the importance of knowledge and awareness of the Hereafter, and God's reward for good conduct.

In the sections from 3 to 16,³ al-Makkī describes for novices the virtue of voluntary prayers (*ad'iyat mukhtāra*) quoting Qur'anic verses, *ḥadīth* and the sayings of pious ancestors. He explains this practice in detail; for instance, he mentions once again the virtue of private worship during the daytime and at night,⁴ as well as emphasising the virtue of prayer from Monday to Sunday, the merit of congregational prayer, the recommendation of particular Qur'anic verses for prayer and *dhikr*, a proper manner of prayer and recitation and the right attitude towards sleep and night prayer.

The sections from 17 to 21⁵ explain the difference between those who have knowledge and those who do not, and they condemn the latter. They provide interpretations of some difficult Qur'anic verses and clarification of what is expressed openly in the Qur'ān and what is concealed. Al-Makkī also gives an account of the virtue of voluntary worship, especially the significance of Friday and recommended practices on that day for novices. The sections from 1 to 21 account

¹ *Qūt*, 1.10.

² 25:62, 73:7-8, 76:25-6, 50:39-40, 52:48-9, 73:6, 20:130, 39:9, 32:16, 25:64, 51:17-18, 17:78-9, 11:114, 30:17-18.

³ *Qūt*, 1.11-156.

⁴ *Wird*, pl. *awlād*: see Ch. 2.1 (cf. Nakamura, 'Makkī and Ghazālī', 85).

⁵ *Qūt*, 1.157-217.

for approximately a sixth of the *Qūt* in total. They concern mainly outward conduct and show how to be a good believer. So far, then, the *Qūt* appears to be a book on ethics rather than an elucidation of mystical doctrines.

More inner religious practices start to be treated from Section 22. The sections from 22 to 26¹ also mention the virtue of private worship, but in the form of a comparison between novices and those possessing gnosis. Al-Makkī gives an account of abstinence² and how special it would be in the case of those possessing religious certainty. He also gives an explanation of the self and describes its different characteristics for those possessing gnosis. The characteristics of those who examine and observe themselves are also expounded. These sections appear to be an introduction to a discussion of inner practices after the description of outer aspects of religious observance for novices who are trying to climb the next step of the ladder in their belief.

In section 27,³ al-Makkī discusses the groundwork for novices. He begins by providing seven qualities to be followed: sincere will, obedience, knowledge of the condition of the self, true repentance, attendance at gatherings, taking only lawful food and having good companions.⁴ Al-Makkī quotes many *ḥadīth* and sayings, and

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.218-72.

² صوم and صيام are often rendered as ‘fast’ or ‘fasting’; however, here al-Makkī emphasises its spiritual aspects rather than refraining from eating and drinking only. At the beginning of Sec. 22 he quotes a Qur’anic verse, «Seek help in patience (صبر) and prayer» (2:45), and interprets *ṣabr* as *ṣawm*. The Prophet called ‘Ramaḍān the month of *ṣabr*, because *ṣabr* withholds the self from longing [for this world]’ (*Qūt*, 1.218). Izutsu explains a close relation between *ṣabr* (patience, self-control or endurance) and *islām*, and *ṣabr* and *taqwā* (God-fearingness) in the Qur’ān (*Concepts*, 101-4, cf. 109).

³ *Qūt*, 1.273-86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.273.

he explains the characteristics of the heart of a true believer, and the significance and difficulties of achieving the religious certainty which is the root of all righteous conduct. This section can be considered as an introduction to the rest of the *Qūt*.

Sections 28 and 29¹ explain the stations of those possessing religious certainty. Al-Makkī separates heedless people who have been moved away from God from those brought close to Him. Section 30² deals with the thoughts of Sufis, whom al-Makkī describes as the people of hearts (*ahl al-qulūb*).³ The characteristics of the heart are elucidated here and al-Makkī explains its meaning and significance for believers in several different ways. This section is the only place where the mystical image of the heart is clarified. As can be seen from its title, *The Nourishment of Hearts (Qūt al-qulūb)*, the heart is the key term of this book. Although the word 'the heart (*qalb*)' appears throughout the *Qūt*, Section 30 is the only section which focuses on the heart exclusively.

Section 31⁴ is on knowledge. It begins with the elucidation of a famous *ḥadīth*, <Seek for knowledge even [as far as] China, as the quest for knowledge is indeed a religious duty upon every Muslim>.⁵ Al-Makkī illustrates various sorts of knowledge; for instance, the superiority of the knowledge of gnosis and religious certainty over other types of knowledge, the superiority of inner knowledge over external knowledge, the difference between those possessing knowledge of this

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.287-320.

² *Ibid.*, 1.321-62.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.321.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.363-489.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.363.

world and knowledge of the Hereafter. He also advises caution against erroneous understanding of the knowledge of belief and certainty. The sections from 1 to 31 account for approximately one-third of the whole *Qūt*.

Section 32¹ is the longest section in the *Qūt* and accounts for a third of the book itself. This concerns the stations (*maqāmāt*, sing. *maqām*) of religious certainty and the conditions of those possessing certainty. At the outset, al-Makkī states that the roots (*uṣūl*) of the stations of certainty can be divided into nine subdivisions: repentance (*tawba*), patience (*ṣabr*), gratitude (*shukr*), hope (*rajā'*), fear (*khawf*), renunciation (*zuhd*), trust (*tawakkul*), contentment (*riḍā'*) and love (*maḥabba*).² He explains that this love is a special love, 'love of the Beloved'.³ This section clarifies these stations in detail, quoting Qur'anic verses, *ḥadīth* and many sayings, as in other parts of the work.

Al-Makkī starts to treat inner aspects of belief mainly from Section 22. The preliminary sections last until Section 26, where he compares those who have improved their inner status and those who have not. Al-Makkī continues to describe important inward features until Section 32, following the introductory statement in Section 27. The sections from 22 to 32 constitute the main part of the *Qūt* in which spiritual doctrines are elucidated. However, al-Makkī does not use the term 'Sufi' so often. The sections from 33 till the end of the book concern both visible and hidden

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2.

² *Ibid.*, 2.499. Cf. Al-Sarrāj, who enumerates seven stations: repentance (*tawba*), piety (*wara'*), renunciation (*zuhd*), poverty (*faqr*), patience (*ṣabr*), trust (*tawakkul*) and contentment (*riḍā'*) (*Luma'*, 42-54). Interestingly, al-Sarrāj includes love, fear, hope and religious certainty in his list of religious states (*ibid.*, 57-63, 70-2). 'Gratitude' does not appear in the *Luma'*.

³ *Qūt*, 2.499.

aspects of belief.

Section 33¹ deals with the Five Pillars of Islam.² It starts with the elucidation of the first pillar: the testimony (*shahāda*) of *tawḥīd*, which al-Makkī explains as the 'firm belief (*i'tiqād*) of the heart' in the oneness of God,³ and the testimony of the Messenger.⁴ It continues to the second pillar, prayer (*ṣalāt*), on which he spends nearly half of this section.⁵ Al-Makkī begins with an explanation of the duties of cleanness and purity, and the virtues of ablution, followed by details of virtues and the duty of the prayer. This section also clarifies the virtues and duties of the third pillar, almsgiving (*zakāt*),⁶ the fourth pillar, abstinence (*ṣiyām*, *ṣawm*),⁷ and the fifth pillar, pilgrimage (*ḥajj*).⁸

Sections 34 and 35⁹ deal with the principal elements of Islam and belief. They also concern the conduct of the heart and external knowledge. Sections 36 to 38¹⁰ elucidate Sunna, Sharī'a, innovation and pious ancestors, and emphasise the importance of intention. They describe the way to be a true Muslim as well as Muslims' duties towards other Muslims.

Sections 39 to 48,¹¹ the last section of the *Qūt*, concern manners, virtues

¹ *Ibid.*, 3.1171-268.

² Al-Makkī states in Section 31 on knowledge that seeking for the knowledge of the Five Pillars is a religious obligation (*ibid.*, 1.367).

³ *Ibid.*, 3.1171.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.1173-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.1189-227.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.1228-44.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.1245-7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.1248-68.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.1269-305.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.1306-72.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3.1373-738.

and obligatory matters in the everyday life of Muslims.¹ They range from food, travel, marriage, trade, bathing and brotherhood, to a description of the prayer leader and the virtues of poverty. Section 47 contains an account of an opinion of Ibn Ḥanbal about proper behaviour.² The last section³ treats what is allowed, what is forbidden, and what is dubious in between these. Al-Makkī clarifies what is lawful and unlawful among these vague matters, and finishes his book.

The *Qūt* is a detailed exposition of the manners and duties of Muslims. Concerning theoretical aspects of religion, al-Makkī generally uses terms such as 'inner (*bāṭin*)', 'hidden (*ghaib*)' or 'of the heart (*al-qulūb*)', rather than the term 'Sufi (*ṣūfī*)'. This is a significant difference from his contemporaries' writings, the *Luma'* by al-Sarrāj and *al-Ta'arruf* by al-Kalābādhī, which are treated in the next section.

3.3 CONTEMPORARIES OF AL-MAKKĪ: AL-SARRĀJ AND AL-KALĀBĀDHĪ

As contemporaries of al-Makkī, Shukri enumerates seven figures, and this seems to be the only study that attempts to locate al-Makkī within the context of the history of

¹ Böwering mentions that in Sections 39 and 40, al-Makkī quotes largely from Ibn Qutayba's *Uyūn al-akhbār* (review of *Nahrung*, vols. 3 & 4, 146), a famous work on *adab*. Although Gramlich mentions this work from time to time in Sec. 40 (e.g. *Nahrung*, 3.349-50, 352-5), al-Makkī does not seem to rely on Ibn Qutayba greatly. It should be also mentioned that according to the index of the *Nahrung*, neither the name of Ibn Qutayba nor the title of his book appears in the *Qūt*.

² *Qūt*, 3.1695-6. According to Gramlich, most citations from Ibn Ḥanbal in this section are from *Kitāb al-wara'* (*Nahrung*, esp. 3.654-75). However, al-Makkī does not seem to mention the title of this work anywhere in the *Qūt* (*ibid.*, vol. 4 [index]).

³ *Qūt*, 3.1711-38.

early Sufism.¹ These are Abu’l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 371/981-2), Muḥammad Ibn Khafīf al-Shīrāzī (d. 371/981-2), Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl (known as Ibn Sam‘ūn) (d. 380/990), ‘Alī b. ‘Umar Dār Quṭnī (d. 385/995), Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī (d. ca. 385/995) and ‘Ubayd Allāh Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997). Although it is not entirely clear what criteria were used for selecting these figures, it appears that they were all prominent in the field of Sufism and Tradition over a span of sixteen years between 371/981-2 and 387/997, al-Makkī dying in 386/996. Not all of them were active in Mecca or present-day Iraq, where al-Makkī was, and there seems to be no evidence to indicate al-Makkī’s possible encounter with these figures.²

In present day studies of Sufism, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī are often treated as contemporaries of al-Makkī because of the view that these three are the earliest authors of encyclopaedic Sufi treatises.³ There had been many Sufi writings before them, for instance by al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), Abū Sa‘īd al-Kharrāz (d. ca. 286/899), al-Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/910), Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922) and so on. However, unlike these early writings, which took the form of monologues, the Sufi literature produced between the late fourth/tenth and the early

¹ Shukri, 34-8.

² These figures do not appear in the *Qūt* or the *‘Ilm*, with a single exception of al-Ḥuṣrī who is quoted in the latter once on the matter of *ikhhlās* (*‘Ilm*, 158).

³ In Karamustafa’s list of ‘major Sufi manuals and biographical compilations’, for example, these three authors’ works appear as the earliest extant treatises (*Sufism (K)*, 84); Schimmel describes their ‘theoretical books on the tenets and doctrines of Sufism’ as the earliest writings in this genre (*Dimensions*, 84-5); and, as discussed later, Nicholson often compares al-Sarrāj with al-Makkī in his edition of the former’s work, as does Arberry in his translation of al-Kalābādhī’s treatise.

sixth/twelfth centuries generally shows an attempt to be as comprehensive as possible in the description of Sufism.

This span of approximately one and half centuries is sometimes called a period of 'the systematisation of the Sufi tradition',¹ when great efforts were expended to make Sufism accessible to those who were not familiar with mystical ways of thinking. During this time, many Sufi manuals and hagiographies were compiled,² and the writings of al-Sarrāj, al-Kalābādhī and al-Makkī are often presented as the earliest mystical treatises to aim primarily at the theorisation of Sufi ideas. In the light of this, this section examines al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī and sets out the characteristics and main arguments of their treatises in comparison with those in al-Makkī's work(s).³

3.3.1 ABŪ NAṢR AL-SARRĀJ

Al-Sarrāj, a native of Tūs in Khurāsān, is the author of *Kitāb al-luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf*,⁴ a modern edition of which was first published in 1914 by Nicholson, with an abstract

¹ *Mysticism*, 116. He also describes this period as the 'construction and consolidation of the Sufi tradition' (*ibid.*).

² Nicholson lists these treatises: *al-Luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf* by al-Sarrāj, *al-Ta'arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* by al-Kalābādhī, *Qūt al-qulūb* by al-Makkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* by al-Sulamī, *Hilyat al-awliyā'* by Abū Nu'aym, *Risāla* by al-Qushayrī, *Kashf al-mahjūb* by al-Hujwīrī and *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* by 'Aṭṭār (*Luma'*, i-ii).

³ As for the rest of the figures whom Shukri enumerates; regarding al-Ḥuṣrī, see al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 516-22; Ibn Khafīf: *EF*², s.v. (J.C. Vadet); Ibn Sam'ūn: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 9.97, *Muntazam*, 7.193; Dār Quṭnī: *Muntazam*, 7.183-45, al-Dhahabī, *Ibar*, 3.28-9; Ibn Baṭṭa: *EF*², s.v. (H. Laoust). Among them, it might be worth mentioning that Ibn Khafīf was a notable Sufi master, also known as al-Shaykh al-Shīrāzī, whose works are mostly lost, but some of them are listed as Sufi manuals in the same period as al-Makkī by Karamustafa (*Sufism (K)*, 86). Regarding Ibn Baṭṭa, a prominent Ḥanbalī jurist, al-Azjī states that he narrates Ḥadīth from both al-Makkī and Ibn Baṭṭa (*Muntazam*, 7.193-4). As mentioned above, no evidence seems to have been found so far which indicates a possible personal link between them and al-Makkī.

⁴ This seems to be his only work (cf. *GAL*, SI.359).

of its contents.¹ The aim of this treatise, which is clearly stated at the outset, is to elucidate the nature of Sufism through a description of the main arguments of past Sufi masters, the basis of ‘their doctrine (*madhhab*), their traditions, their poems, their questions and answers’, and their unique use of symbols and expressions.² Al-Sarrāj urges his reader to be ‘sensible (*‘āqil*)’³ and to differentiate the genuine Sufis from those who dress, act and write like them.

In his time, continues al-Sarrāj, these pseudo-Sufis heavily outnumber true Sufis. However, the latter are the ones whose hearts God revived (*aḥyā*), whose innermost parts (*asrār*) God purified (*ṭahhara*),⁴ and whose principles and methods must not be confused with those of false Sufis who twist the true meanings of pious sayings and mislead people by their ostentatious words and deeds.⁵ From this statement, the target audience of the *Luma’* can be deduced to be those who misunderstand Sufism due to the existence of the fake Sufis, and al-Sarrāj attempts to explain the true meaning of Sufism and to clarify Sufi terminologies.

The *Luma’* is a well-organised book. It consists of approximately 150 chapters (*abwāb*, sing. *bāb*), which are arranged into thirteen sections (lit. books, *kutub*, sing. *kitāb*). In the introductory section, al-Sarrāj explains the distinguishing characteristics of Sufism in comparison with the Traditionists (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) and

¹ The lacunae of this edition are published as *Pages from the Kitāb al-luma’ of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj*, ed. A.J. Arberry (London: Luzac, 1947). A German translation includes both, with a correction of Nicholson’s text; *Schlagrichter über das Sufitum*, trans. R. Gramlich (Stuttgart: Freiburger Islamstudien, 1990).

² *Luma’*, 2 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3 [Arabic].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4 [Arabic].

the jurists (*fuqahā'*),¹ and he gives the etymology of the term 'Sufism (*ṣūfīyya*)'² and the description of the inner science (*'ilm al-bāṭin*), i.e. Sufism,³ and its nature.⁴

After this lead-in, al-Sarrāj provides definitions of mystical terminologies, such as *tawḥīd*,⁵ gnosis (*ma'rifa*),⁶ religious stations (*maqāmāt*, sing. *maqām*) and states (*aḥwāl*, sing. *ḥāl*).⁷ Towards the end, al-Sarrāj includes sections on obscure Sufi terms,⁸ and the proper interpretation of ecstatic expressions (*shaṭḥīyāt*) which seem to be abominable (*mustashni'*).⁹ The *Luma'* ends with explanations of the Sufi way of manners and understanding, and the true essence behind its apparent meanings.

This kind of arrangement is not found in the *Qūt* or the '*Ilm*'. Neither of them provides a definition of Sufism, a clear comparison of Sufis with the other types of '*ulamā'*' or an interpretation of their apparent heretical utterances.¹⁰ Despite the difference in organisation, the main similarity among the three works can be found in their approach. As stated at the beginning, al-Sarrāj believes that knowledge and

¹ Chs. 1-6 (*ibid.*, 4-15 [Arabic]). Al-Sarrāj divides the '*ulamā'*' into three categories, the Traditionists, the jurists and the Sufis, and locates Sufism in Islam (*ibid.*, 5 [Arabic]).

² Ch. 10 (*ibid.*, 20-1 [Arabic]).

³ Ch. 12 (*ibid.*, 23-4 [Arabic]).

⁴ Chs. 13-14 (*ibid.*, 24-8 [Arabic]).

⁵ Ch. 15 (*ibid.*, 28-35 [Arabic]).

⁶ Chs. 16-18 (*ibid.*, 35-41 [Arabic]).

⁷ Sec. 1 (*ibid.*, 41-72 [Arabic]).

⁸ Sec. 11 (*ibid.*, 333-74 [Arabic]).

⁹ Sec. 12 (*ibid.*, 375-436 [Arabic]).

¹⁰ This kind of approach has made some scholars consider the *Luma'* to be apologetic (e.g. *ibid.*, v [introduction by Nicholson]; *Mysticism*, 120), while others state that this is 'a sure sign of his confidence in the security of the Islamic foundations of Sufism' (*Sufism (K)*, 68), as he believes that true Sufis are 'not merely in complete conformity with Islamic orthodoxy but they themselves make up its spiritual élite' (*EF*², s.v. (P. Lory)). This seems to be a question of perception and, although this is not the place to explore this issue further, as far as I understand it, al-Sarrāj's way of argument appears to show his organisational skill rather than being an apology or justification.

understanding can be found only ‘in the book of God ..., what is handed down from the Prophet of God ... and what has been revealed to the hearts of those close to God (*awliyāʾ*)’.¹

In the elucidation of various Sufi doctrines, al-Sarrāj supports his argument by citing the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth* and the words of pious predecessors. The same idea can also be seen both in the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*. (This technique, however, is not something distinctive to the three books: it can be also seen in much Sufi (or Islamic) literature.) The distinguishing characteristic that is common to the three is their descriptiveness, as manifest in their attempts to explain religious ideas in an almost pedagogic way. The feature that is salient specifically to the *Qūt* and the *Lumaʿ* is their comprehensiveness, as both discuss a wider range of the spiritual aspects of Islam than the *ʿIlm*.²

However, these shared characteristics also reveal their dissimilarity, which might be a reflection of their separate objectives. As clearly stated in the title of the *Qūt*, its target audience is those who would like to follow the path which leads to God. In view of its explanatory character, on the other hand, the *Lumaʿ* could also be for Sufi novices; however, its original intended readers are those who misunderstand Sufism, as explained in the introduction.

This different position can be clearly found in their treatment of external

¹ *Lumaʿ*, 1-2 [Arabic].

² Although Nicholson states that the *Lumaʿ* does not have ‘a systematic and exhaustive analysis of mystical doctrines’ as the *Qūt* does (*Lumaʿ*, viii), it should be mentioned that the former is much shorter than the latter.

actions. In the first chapter, al-Sarrāj emphasises the importance of the combination of knowledge and action, since ‘knowledge is joined with action and action is joined with sincere devotion (*ikhlaṣ*)’¹, which requires believers to have God alone as the goal (*wajh Allāh*) of their life in their knowledge and action.² However, al-Sarrāj does not provide detailed accounts of actions which could be carried out in everyday life, whereas the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* are full of this kind of practical description.

On the whole, although the *Lumaʿ* contains extensive discussions of mystical vocabulary, this treatise is not for those who would like to have practical guidance on how to become a Sufi or a good believer, since the way it covers mystical ideas is aimed at those who do not know them well, not those who would like to carry them out. This quality of practicality keeps the *Lumaʿ* apart from the other two writings.³

The last issue that is worth mentioning in regard to al-Sarrāj is his connection with al-Sālimiyya. Among approximately 200 citations in the *Lumaʿ*, forty sayings are first-hand.⁴ One of them is from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d. 356/967), a leader of al-Sālimiyya. It is clear from the *Lumaʿ* that al-Sarrāj had a strong connection with Ibn Sālim: he attended Ibn Sālim’s gathering (*majlis*) and cites a large number of his sayings. Nicholson concludes that al-Sarrāj was not a member of al-Sālimiyya; however, he admits that Ibn Sālim and his theological

¹ This term, which can be also translated as ‘purification of faith’, is an important Qur’anic concept. For a detailed discussion, see Ch. 5.3.

² *Lumaʿ*, 6 [Arabic].

³ Considering this, Shukri’s statement that the *Lumaʿ* was composed ‘with the same objective’ as the *Qūt* sounds implausible (Shukri, 34).

⁴ *Lumaʿ*, xii, xxii.

group had a strong influence on al-Sarrāj's mystical thoughts.¹

There is no description of al-Makkī in the *Luma'*, and al-Sarrāj does not appear in the *Qūt* or the *‘Ilm*. Although Knysh states that al-Makkī went to Baghdad to 'study with al-Sarrāj',² and Abdel-Kader claims that he studied 'under'³ al-Sarrāj, no sources are given and it seems impossible to determine whether there was interaction between the two. Although we do not know when they did their writing, a plausible timing would be after they had contact with the Sālimiyya school, since Ibn Sālīm often appears in their works. What can be conjectured so far is that their surviving treatises were probably composed in the same intellectual milieu, or soon after they shared it.

3.3.2 ABŪ BAKR AL-KALĀBĀDHĪ

Another important contemporary of al-Makkī is al-Kalābādhī, whose fame lies in one of his two extant books,⁴ *Kitāb al-ta'arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*. This work is renowned as an approved Sufi textbook; a complete translation (based on manuscripts) was published by Arberry in 1935, and the Arabic text was edited by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Bāqī Surūr in 1960.⁵ The aim of *al-Ta'arruf* and its intended readership are clearly stated in the preface. According to

¹ *Ibid.*, x-xi, xix-xx. Cf. Böwering, who mentions 'the divergences of opinion' between al-Sarrāj and Ibn Sālīm regarding the utterances of al-Bisṭāmī (*Vision*, 96).

² *Mysticism*, 121.

³ Abdel-Kader, introduction to *al-Junayd*, xiv. He also says al-Makkī went to Basra after Baghdad, which contradicts all other statements.

⁴ The other work is a commentary on Traditions, entitled *Baḥr al-fawā'id fī ma'ānī al-akhbār*; cf. *GAL*, 1.217.

⁵ *Doctrine; Ta'arruf*.

al-Kalābādhī, he attempts to elucidate the characteristic of the Sufi way and to refute its false image and 'the evil interpretation (*sū' ta'wīl*) of the ignorant' in connection with Sufis; at the same time, he wrote his treatise for those who would like to follow God's path (*ṭarīq*) and are 'in need of God Most High in order to attain His reality'.¹

The seventy-five chapters of *al-Ta'arruf* can be divided into five sections.² After Sufis are praised for their 'ears being attentive (*wā'iya*), their innermost parts (*asrār*) pure' but 'their qualities (*nu'ūt*) concealed',³ al-Kalābādhī provides the etymology of Sufism and enumerates famous Sufis and authors of Sufi books.⁴ The next section explores the Sufi way of understanding the central tenets of Islam, such as *tawḥīd*, the attributes of God (*ṣifāt*), the Qur'ān and predestination (*qadar*).⁵ These true Sufi doctrines are the ones that he has 'verified (*taḥaqqāq*)' from what he has studied.⁶ Most of the chapters in this section begin with the expression, 'Sufis were agreed ...',⁷ and the objective of this section seems to be to show the conformity of Sufism with Islam.

From the following section onwards, al-Kalābādhī starts to elucidate what is particular to Sufis in their expressions.⁸ The third section discusses the religious states (*aḥwāl*) and the seventeen mystical stations (*maqāmāt*), starting with

¹ *Ta'arruf*, 20.

² As Arberry does (*Doctrine*, xv-xvii); cf. Nwyia, who divides the book into three (*EF*², s.v.).

³ *Ta'arruf*, 20.

⁴ Chs. 1-4 (*ibid.*, 21-33).

⁵ Chs. 5-30 (*ibid.*, 33-86).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁷ E.g. Ch. 5: اجتمعت الصوفية ; Chs. 6, 9, 11, 13: أجمعوا (*ibid.*, 33, 35, 39, 42, 44). Occasionally, a chapter begins with اختلفوا (e.g. Ch. 7, 8; *ibid.*, 37, 39) when there are various opinions among Sufis.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

repentance (*tawba*) and ending with love (*maḥabba*).¹ The next section² elucidates technical terms (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) that are used among Sufis but not by others. According to al-Kalābādhī, although these words are 'inadequate (*maqṣūra*)' to express the real nature of mystical states, they are 'widely known (*mashhūra*)'³ among those who have experienced these conditions.⁴ The meanings of mystical ecstasy (*wajh*), intoxication (*sukr*), passing away (*fanā'*) and remaining (*baqā'*), gnosis (*ma'rifa*),⁵ *tawḥīd*, etc. are explored in this section. The last part of *al-Ta'arruf*⁶ analyses matters arising mainly from the relation between God and Sufis, including various types of God's favour and grace which are given to them. After al-Kalābādhī's attempt to attest that Sufis are the true worshippers of God, the book ends without any particular concluding remarks.

According to al-Kalābādhī, Sufis bring together various types of inherited knowledge ('*ulūm al-mawārīth*) and acquired knowledge ('*ulūm al-iktisāb*), and their way of understanding is obtained through a combination of the '*ḥadīth*, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), *kalām*, linguistics (*lugha*) and Qur'anic science'.⁷ As can be seen in the writings of al-Sarrāj and al-Makkī, *al-Ta'arruf* is full of citations from Qur'anic verses, Traditions and religious sayings in order to elucidate Sufi doctrines. This

¹ Chs. 31-51 (*ibid.*, 86-111).

² Chs. 52-63 (*ibid.*, 111-41).

³ Arberry translates this as 'fully understood', but this might be slightly too strong (*Doctrine*, 104).

⁴ *Ta'arruf*, 111.

⁵ As Arberry mentions, it seems that Chs. 21-2 on gnosis should be placed in this section (*Doctrine*, xvi).

⁶ Chs. 64-75 (*Ta'arruf*, 141-61).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

usual method of citing canonical sources validates the ideas expressed and consequently, as was the case with the *Lumaʿ*, al-Kalābādhī's work is sometimes considered to be 'frankly apologetic'.¹

Karamustafa, however, argues that although he finds *al-Taʿarruf* 'somewhat prosaic', he underlines the author's effort to introduce Sufism to his native people in Transoxania who were not well-acquainted with this phenomenon.² This point might be important in understanding this work. The life of al-Kalābādhī is almost unknown, but his *nisba* indicates his native town to be Kalābādh, 'a quarter of Bukhārā', where he was buried.³ His social environment must have been very different from that of al-Sarrāj and al-Makkī, who were in the centre of Islamic civilisation and the Sufi movement of the time. As stated in the preface, al-Kalābādhī studied Sufism mainly through reading,⁴ which can be also assumed from his lists of Sufi writings in Chapters 3 and 4. *Al-Taʿarruf*, on the whole, takes a highly theoretical approach and seems to be a collection of mystics' sayings, rather than containing the author's own arguments.⁵ This is significantly different from the impressions we receive from the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*, and might reflect the different intentions and social milieu of the authors.

Concerning the issue of apologia, Karamustafa states that 'after all, there

¹ *Sufism (A)*, 69; cf. *ET*², s.v. (P. Nwyia). Knysh seems to follow Arberry's argument (*Mysticism*, 123).

² *Sufism (K)*, 70.

³ *Doctrine*, xi.

⁴ *Taʿarruf*, 20.

⁵ Arberry states that the *Qūt* contains 'somewhat more of careful argument' but 'somewhat less of curious quotation' (*Sufism (A)*, 68).

were *no* approaches ... in this early phase of Islamic history whose credentials [and] authenticity ... were *not* debated'.¹ Al-Kalābādhī claims at the beginning that he compiled his work in order to provide proper information on Sufism, and, in the view of the fact that the major Sufis were active many miles away from where he lived, his statement sounds plausible. *Al-Taʿarruf* was widely read among Sufis, highly esteemed after the *Qūt* and al-Qushayrī's *Risāla*, and a number of commentaries were made on it.² If this treatise contained only a defensive justification of Sufism, it would have been unlikely to have received this treatment.

In comparison with the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*, which explore both the theory and practice of Sufism, *al-Taʿarruf* lacks the second element, as was also the case with the *Lumaʿ*. Al-Kalābādhī does not dismiss the importance of action and quotes a Sufi saying that 'piety (*taʿabbud*) is the performance (*ityān*) of what God imposed as duty (*wājib*)'.³ However, the main focus of his book is on spiritual performance (which provides a good introduction to Sufism, as he hopes that his work can serve for novices), while the application of the Sufi theories is not covered.

Last, on the issue of a possible personal interaction between al-Makkī and al-Kalābādhī, Knysh discusses al-Kalābādhī's approving attitude toward Iraqi-style Sufism,⁴ and Karamustafa claims that *al-Taʿarruf* reveals al-Kalābādhī's familiarity

¹ *Sufism (K)*, 70.

² Among others, Arberry mentions commentaries by Ansārī and Qunawī, and he states that al-Suyūṭī cites al-Kalābādhī extensively (*Sufism (A)*, 69). Cf. *Doctrine*, xii-xiii; *GAL*, SI.360.

³ *Taʿarruf*, 141.

⁴ *Mysticism*, 123-4.

with al-Sarrāj’s *Luma’* due to the similarity between their introductions.¹ Despite his acquaintance with Sufism, al-Kalābādhī does not seem to have associated himself with any Sufi masters and, as Karamustafa points out, his writing has a ‘curiously “academic”’ style and gives the impression that his understanding of Sufism is at an intellectual level and does not come from his own mystical experience.² In the light of this, coupled with the lack of evidence of al-Kalābādhī’s westbound or al-Makkī’s eastbound journeys, the possibility that there was a personal encounter between these two figures seems to be slim.³

As mentioned at the beginning, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī are often treated as contemporaries of al-Makkī in the sense that their writings are considered as early ‘Sufi manuals’.⁴ After examining both the similarities and differences in their works, we should be in a position to evaluate whether this statement is appropriate. Among the various aspects that have been studied (namely: aim, intended readership, structure, approach and topics), the aim and the target audiences seem to be more important than the rest. This is because even though the structure and themes show

¹ *Sufism (K)*, 69.

² *Ibid.*

³ Al-Makkī is not mentioned in *al-Ta’arruf*; however, al-Kalābādhī explains, after enumerating the names of notable Sufis, that he has not mentioned anybody close to or in his own time, though he is mindful of numerous contemporary mystics (*Ta’arruf*, 33). His name does not appear either in the *Qūt* or the *‘Ilm*.

⁴ *Sufism (K)*, 84. Only the *Qūt*, the *Luma’* and *al-Ta’arruf*; not the *‘Ilm*.

similarity, this kind of resemblance should be contextualised and understood through the intention of the writers.

The significant difference in the target readerships of the *Qūt*, the *ʿIlm*, the *Lumaʿ* and *al-Taʿarruf* concerns whether Sufis (novices or not) are originally included. From the title and the contents, the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* seem to be written for those who would like to follow, or have already started to lead, a religious way of life (which could also be called a Sufi way of life). This can also be verified by their coverage of practical information and, in the light of this guiding feature, the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* could be considered as moral instruction books which could also be used as Sufi manuals.

The *Lumaʿ* and *al-Taʿarruf*, on the other hand, seem to manifest more encyclopaedic characteristics. Their main target audience is those who have misunderstood Sufism and are not acquainted with its true meaning. Due to their comprehensiveness, both works can be used as a guide for novices, as al-Kalābādhī hopes; however, the design of the books is not originally intended for them. It might be also worth mentioning that the *Lumaʿ* and *al-Taʿarruf* have the term ‘Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)’ in their titles, while the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* do not. This could also support the argument that the former two books are written especially for non-Sufis.

Although the motivations of al-Makkī, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī vary, the fact that their writings present wide-ranging discussions that have been widely read among later Sufis makes it understandable that they are often classified in the same

category as the authors of Sufi manuals.¹ However, it is important to note the different objectives among them and their varied treatment of Sufism. In the *Lumaʿ* and *al-Taʿarruf*, Sufism is presented as one of the Islamic sciences and an effort is made to show not only its conformity with Islam but also its excellence within it.² In the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*, on the other hand, the aim is mainly to encourage or warn the reader to be a true worshipper of God, and pages are spent on the description of the actual practices of a moral believer, rather than the definition and origin of Sufism in Islam.³

It should also be considered whether al-Makkī, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī were actually Sufis or presented themselves as such. Although they often appear in the study of Sufism and their writings are generally classified as Sufi treatises, as the famous examples of al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* ('The Aims of the Philosophers') and *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* ('The Incoherence of the Philosophers') remind us,⁴ it is not a necessary condition for giving an analysis of a matter, that the writer be a practitioner or supporter.

Gramlich argues that although al-Makkī's association with the Sālimiyya school contributed to the idea that al-Makkī was a Sufi, he does not describe himself as such and he barely uses the term 'Sufi'; instead he often refers to 'worshippers

¹ With the exception of the *ʿIlm*, which could be considered to be a themed manual, disregarding questions of its authenticity.

² E.g. *Lumaʿ*, 4-11, esp. 10 [Arabic]; *Taʿarruf*, 33-86.

³ See the summary of the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* in Ch. 3.2 and Ch. 5.3 respectively.

⁴ The former is usually considered to be clearer than any writings by the 'philosophers themselves' (Watt, *Philosophy and Theology*, 90) and the latter was written to refute philosophers' views, but the clarity of his argument made the Latin world believe that he himself was a philosopher (cf. Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy*, 113).

(*'ubbād*), 'the poor (*fuqarā'*)', 'those possessing gnosis (*'ārifūn*)', 'those who have reached *tawḥīd* (*mutawahḥidūn*)', etc. Gramlich concludes that not all advocates of al-Sālimiyya were mystics,¹ with an implication that al-Makkī was not a Sufi.²

According to some *ṭabaqāt* dictionaries, al-Makkī affiliated himself with the Sālimī tradition, which can also be seen in his use in the *Qūt* of honorific titles for its leading figures.³ The basis of Gramlich's conclusion that al-Makkī was probably not a Sufi, however, does not rule out the possibility that al-Makkī actually was one. Al-Makkī puts great effort into illustrating moral practices in Islam. This could be considered an indication that he himself takes a practical approach to his own belief, not only a theoretical one, given that belief in experiential knowledge is one of the characteristics of Sufism.

Ibn Khallikān mentions al-Makkī's ascetic practices,⁴ al-Yāfi'ī reports his later spiritual enlightenment⁵ and Ibn al-Jawzī gives a mythical account of his death.⁶ This would indicate that al-Makkī was considered by his associates, or at least by those who lived not long after him, to be a diligent worshipper with esoteric knowledge. His deathbed scene especially, which echoes a story in the *Qūt*,⁷ adds credibility to the idea that al-Makkī was remembered as a Sufi.

¹ Massignon states that the main concern of the Sālimiyya is *zuhd* and 'none of the early sources mentions them explicitly as *Ṣūfīs*' (*El*², s.v. 'Sālimiyya').

² *Nahrung*, 1.13. Gramlich argues that 'nicht die Aussagen, die ihn unter die Sufis einreihen, decken sich mit Makkīs eigenen Worten' but 'er selbst hat sich nicht als Sufi bezeichnet'.

³ See Introduction: The Life of al-Makkī.

⁴ *Wafayāt*, 4.303-4.

⁵ Al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, 2.430.

⁶ *Muntaẓam* 7.189-90.

⁷ *Qūt*, 2.637-8; cf. Introduction: The Life of al-Makkī, Appendix I.

It is hard to know, however, whether al-Makkī regarded himself as a Sufi, as he is not explicit about this. His writing and his association with al-Sālimiyya (although it is not clear either whether this can be called a Sufi group) does not contradict the possibility of his mystical orientation. Although this might have been the product of his earnest religious practices, it seems to have been enough for the later biographers to deem him a Sufi.

To a certain extent, the same might be the case with his contemporaries, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī. Although a few accounts show al-Sarrāj's ascetic and mystical tendency,¹ as Karamustafa argues, his book gives the impression that he is principally a 'scholar' rather than a *shaykh*, and the *Luma'* is his 'survey' of Sufism.² Al-Sarrāj's research is carried out through his collection of Sufi sayings, drawn indirectly from written sources and directly from his acquaintance with notable Sufis of his time. The result of his examination provides a good overview of the history and theories of Sufism, but it lacks practical aspects.

Al-Kalābādhī pushes this tendency further in his *Ta'arruf*. Most of his information comes from reading and his study succeeds in producing an 'authoritative written guide' to Sufism,³ as he intended, but again lacks practicality. At this moment, it seems impossible to know whether al-Kalābādhī was a Sufi, not only because his life is shrouded in mystery, but also because it is simply difficult to

¹ Hujwīrī reports al-Sarrāj's ascetic lifestyle (*Kashf*, 323) and Nicholson relates another account of al-Sarrāj who was 'seized with ecstasy and threw himself ... upon a blazing fire' but no damage was done (*Luma'*, iv-v).

² *Sufism (K)*, 69.

³ *Ibid.*, 71.

assess a person's spiritual orientation. However, his treatise on Sufism and his almost objective way of treating this subject give the impression that he was, like al-Sarrāj, a scholarly type rather than a Sufi master. Even so, the fact that their writings are a good introduction to Sufi doctrines was enough for them to be considered Sufi writers later on.

Shukri argues that al-Makkī's work does not manifest an apologetic nature, unlike his two contemporaries' treatises.¹ However, as shown above, these three figures have different aims in their writing and probably adopted varied approaches to Sufism in their lives. In point of objective, structure and main topics, the *Lumaʿ* and *al-Taʿarruf* show more resemblance to each other than the *Qūt* or the *ʿIlm*. Categorising al-Makkī, al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī as Sufis and classifying their work as Sufi manuals might not be completely on the wrong path, but seems to be too simplistic and could be misleading.

¹ Shukri, 324.

CHAPTER 4:

AN ANALYSIS OF AN EXTRACT FROM SECTION 30 OF THE *QŪT* WITH SELECTED PASSAGES IN TRANSLATION

This chapter provides a summarised translation of the main part of Section 30 of the *Qūt* with commentaries. The annotated passage is selected in order to expound al-Makkī's core idea, which is reflected in the title *Qūt al-qulūb*. In this work, the sections from 30 to 32 treat exclusively of theoretical matters. A translation of the whole of Section 31, on knowledge, has been published by Renard and a segment on repentance from Section 32 has been translated by Amin in his thesis. These translations, together with the complete German version by Gramlich,¹ are making the study of al-Makkī more accessible, and it is hoped that this thesis will make a further contribution to this process. Before the translation, this chapter first examines the manuscripts and modern editions of the *Qūt*. After the translation, al-Makkī's views on the heart are examined.

4.1 MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF THE *QŪT*

Brockelmann enumerates in total around forty manuscripts of the *Qūt* and a few manuscripts of extracts from it;² Sezgin adds several more manuscripts to both these categories.³ The manuscripts are scattered across various places, including London, Dublin, Paris, The Escorial, Damascus and Tunis, as well as libraries in Germany,

¹ *Knowledge*, 112-263; Amin, 53-154; *Nahrung*, vols. 1-3.

² *GAL*, 1.217, S.I.359-60.

³ *GAS*, 1.666-7.

India and Turkey. Neither *GAL* nor *GAS* mentions whether these manuscripts are complete or not.

In his 2001 edition of the *Qūt*, al-Raḍwānī uses five manuscripts: two from Dār al-Kutub in Cairo and three from Turkey.¹ Among these, only one manuscript – from Cairo – is complete. According to al-Raḍwānī, this manuscript contains 181 folios and is written in a ‘fine Maghribī style’.² The name of the copyist and the history of the manuscript are unknown.³ In the *Nahrung*, Gramlich uses six manuscripts for his translation: three from Turkey (different manuscripts from those used by al-Raḍwānī), one from Heidelberg, one from the British Library and one from Princeton.⁴ According to Gramlich, the Heidelberg manuscript is the only complete one, having 585 folios and dated as 1120/1708-9.⁵

Regarding modern editions of the *Qūt*, there seem to be nine versions. These are chronologically:

- i. 2 vols., ed. Muḥammad al-Zuhrā, Cairo, 1892-3,
each volume has a book in a margin:
1 - *Sirāj al-qulūb wa ‘ilāj al-dhunūb li-Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī*,
2 - *Hayāt al-qulūb fī kayfiyya al-wuṣūl ila al-maḥbūb*;⁶
- ii. 4 vols. in 2, Cairo: Al-Maṭba‘at al-Miṣriyya, 1932,
no mention of the editor;
- iii. 2 vols., Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1961,
no mention of the editor;
- iv. 2 vols., ed. Sa‘īd Nasīb Makārim, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1995;
- v. 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1997,

¹ *Qūt*, 1.19-23, where he gives a description of each manuscript.

² *Ibid.*, 1.19.

³ Dār al-Kutub, no. 1543 (*taṣawwuf*), 181 fls (microfilm no. 7383). According to al-Raḍwānī, each folio has 43 lines and its dimensions are 22 × 30 cm (*ibid.*). Neither *GAL* nor *GAS* lists this MS.

⁴ *Nahrung*, 1.21.

⁵ Heidelberg, Cod. Or. 246 (*ibid.*; cf. *GAS*, 1.667). Gramlich does not provide as much information about any of the manuscripts as al-Raḍwānī does.

⁶ *Qūt*, 1.23; *Nahrung*, 1.21. Gramlich consulted a copy of this book which was published in Beirut (n.d.) and does not mention the two books in the margin.

- no mention of the editor;¹
- vi. 3 vols., ed. Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Raḍwānī, Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 2001;
- vii. 2nd ed., 2 vols., ed. ‘Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2005;
- viii. 2 vols., Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tawfīqiyya, n.d.,
no mention of the editor;
- ix. 2 vols. in 1, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.,
no mention of the editor; it has two other books in the margin:
1 - *Sirāj al-qulūb wa ‘ilāj al-dhunūb li-Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Mu‘īrī*,
2 - *Ḥayāt al-qulūb fī kayfiyya al-wuṣūl ila al-maḥbūb li-‘Imād al-Dabbī al-Umūmī*.²

Among them, al-Raḍwānī’s 2001 edition (no. vi in the above list) is the only version which provides an explanation of the manuscripts and the modern edition used in editing.

In the introduction, al-Raḍwānī mentions that he has also consulted the 1892-3 edition (no. i) as well as the five manuscripts.³ This seems to be the first printed copy of the *Qūt*.⁴ Gramlich uses three modern editions (nos. i, ii and iii) for his

¹ The same publisher published the second edition of the *Qūt* in 2005 (ed. al-Kayyālī). Although the editor’s name does not appear in the 1997 version, the contents of the introductions are almost the same in the two copies, and it may be assumed that the editor of the *Qūt* (1997) is also al-Kayyālī, who made corrections in spelling and added two extra pages to the original introduction in the 2005 edition.

² Shukri states that Muḥammad b. al-Asnāwī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 764/1363) produced a work entitled *Ḥayāt al-qulūb fī kayfiyyat al-wuṣūl ila l-maḥbūb* in the margin of the *Qūt*, which was published in Cairo in 1310/1892-3 (Shukri, 45). The same title can be seen in the margin of the *Qūt* printed in Damascus (n.d.), but with a different author’s name, ‘Imād al-Dabbī al-Umūmī. According to Brockelmann, *Ḥayāt al-qulūb* was written by al-Asnawī ‘Imād al-Dīn (d. 764/1363) and published in the margin of the *Qūt* in 1310/1892-3 in Cairo (GAL, SII.148). Nobody seems to have studied this work further and it is not certain whether the Cairo and the Damascus editions have the same work in their margin or who holds its authorship. (The Cairo edition is not available to me.) The Damascus edition has another work in the margin, which is called *Sirāj al-qulūb wa ‘ilāj al-dhunūb*, written by Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Mu‘īrī, and this seems also to have been printed in the margin of the Cairo edition with the same author’s name (*Qūt*, 1.23). However, according to Brockelmann, this work is written by Nūr Allāh al-Shushtarī (d. 1019/1610), who was a Shī‘ī *qāḍī* in Lahore (GAL, SII.607-8). It is not obvious from the contents of the book whether the author is Shī‘ī or not. Gramlich, who used the Cairo edition, does not mention the two works in the margin (*Nahrung*, 1.21); al-Raḍwānī, who also used the Cairo edition, does mention them (as *Sirāj al-qulūb* by Abū ‘Alī Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī and *Ḥayāt al-qulūb* with no author’s name) but does not expand on this information (*Qūt*, 1.23). At this point, it seems to be difficult to discuss these two works further.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*; *Nahrung*, 1.21.

translation and states that this oldest edition is very close to the complete Heidelberg manuscript.¹ According to him, although the 1892-3 copy is ‘not pleasant to read’, it has fewer mistakes than the other two editions he consulted, and he decided to base his translation on this oldest edition.²

Concerning the other translators of the *Qūt*, Douglas in 1978 used the 1932 edition (no. ii) and Amin in 1991 consulted the 1961 edition (no. iii). Renard in 2004 had to rely on the 1997 edition (no. v), and did so reluctantly, since he knew it is not the critical copy.³ Among the nine modern editions of the *Qūt*, the 2001 edition of al-Raḍwānī (no. vi) is the most reliable.⁴ This is the copy which is used throughout this thesis.

4.2 AN ANALYSIS OF AN EXTRACT FROM SECTION 30 OF THE *QŪT* WITH SELECTED PASSAGES IN TRANSLATION

Notes on the translation:

This summarised translation is based on al-Raḍwānī’s edition of the *Qūt*. Its page numbers appear in parentheses throughout the text ((**page number**)) and the

¹ *Nahrung*, 1.21-2.

² *Ibid.* It is not clear why he did not choose the complete Heidelberg MS as the basis of his translation, given that he states that the 1892-3 edition is an ‘amply faulty (reichlich fehlerhafter)’ edition and that even the name of the author is wrong on the title page (*ibid.*, 1.21).

³ Douglas, ‘Beard’, 100; Amin, 101 n. 1; *Knowledge*, 386 n. 1.

⁴ Differences among the modern editions are mainly in punctuation, auxiliary signs, such as *shadda* and *hamza*, the numbering of Qur’anic verses and paragraphing. In the contents of the *Qūt*, slight disagreements can be seen over a different use of terminology and numbering of sections. (Many copies incorporate the content of Section 34 into Section 33 and skip the number 34. Until Section 32 and from Section 35 till the end, the same numbering system seems to be applied in all the editions.) There are also variations in words and expressions throughout the main body of the *Qūt*.

paragraph numbers in square brackets ([**paragraph**]). This section provides a summary of the main argument of al-Makkī by paragraph with an extensive amount of translated passages which aim to explain al-Makkī's ideas clearly. Analytical abstracts are double-spaced, whereas direct quotations are single-spaced.

In the translation, some words are added in square brackets ([translator's notes]) or omitted to make sense in English. Any quotations from the Qur'ān are cited in italics in double angle brackets («*Qur'ān*») and its verse numbers follow Pickthall's *The Glorious Qur'an*. The English translation of the Qur'ān also follows his interpretation, unless specified. Any quotations from the *ḥadīth* are put in angle brackets (<Tradition>). The descriptions of the persons cited in the text are given in the footnotes.¹

Since Gramlich painstakingly identifies the Traditions cited in the *Qūt*, and compares this book with the *Iḥyā'* (and some famous writings on Sufism) throughout the *Nahrung*, this translation focuses on the annotation of difficult terms and the identification of religious authorities. The major differences between his interpretation and mine are pointed out in the footnotes.

¹ All the Qur'anic citations and the religious authorities in the text are listed in Appendix IV.

**THE NOURISHMENT OF HEARTS IN RELATION TO THE BELOVED
AND THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PATH OF THE NOVICE TO THE
STATION OF TAWHĪD**

**THE THIRTIETH SECTION IN WHICH IS THE DETAILED ACCOUNT¹ OF
THE IMPULSES² EXPERIENCED BY THE TRUE BELIEVERS³, AND THE
CHARACTERISTIC OF THE HEART AND ITS SIMILARITY TO LIGHTS
AND JEWELS**

(p. 321) [1] The author quotes eight Qurʾānic verses.⁴ It is emphasised that when God created humans, He inspired⁵ the self (*nafs*) and shed light⁶ into it, so that humans can choose by themselves between right and evil. The Devil⁷ is an enemy of

¹ Literally: the book of the account of the detailed statement.

² خواطر : these are thoughts and visions which come to mind. They are not praiseworthy or blameworthy *per se*, but the believer's reaction to them is a subject for reward or punishment (*Satan*, 66; Sells, *Mysticism*, 142-3). Al-Kalābādhī summarises the nature of the *khawāṭir* and divides them into four kinds: the *khāṭir* from God, which is 'a warning', the *khāṭir* from the angel, which 'prompts obedience', the *khāṭir* from the self, which 'asks for desire', and the *khāṭir* from the enemy, which is 'the costume of disobedience' (*Ta'arruf*, 90). Al-Qushayrī also presents a similar argument (*Risāla*, 83-5), while al-Sarrāj's definition is rather short (*Luma'*, 342 [Arabic]), a pattern which is followed by Hujwīrī (*Kashf*, 387). Renard renders this term as 'spiritual discernment' (*Knowledge*, 36); however, discernment seems to come after the *khāṭir* occur in the heart. Awn translates it as 'impulse' (*Satan*, 66; but mainly he uses the Arabic term in transliteration), Sells 'inclination' (*Mysticism*, 142), Aīnī 'suggestion' (*Grand saint*, 163), Nicholson 'passing thought' (*Kashf*, 387), Arberry 'thought' (*Doctrine*, 80), Knysh 'thought' (*Epistle*, 106), and Gramlich 'Einfall' (*Nahrung*, 1.375). Here, it is rendered as 'impulse'. The *khawāṭir* seem to be more than passing thoughts, since they influence the believer's mind and action; however, they might be less than inclinations, since they chance upon a believer and do not stay in the mind, unlike *wāqi'a* (see *Luma'*, 342-3 [Arabic]; *Kashf*, 387-8).

³ Literally: belonging to the people of hearts.

⁴ 91:7-8, 50:16, 5:30, 114:4, 35:6, 58:19, 2:268, 7:16-7.

⁵ ألقى : to inspire (of God) (Hava, 694); its verbal noun إلقاء is used as a suggestion of God, while that of the devil is وسوسة (Lane, 2.2472). Cf. 'hineinwerfen' (*Nahrung*, 1.375).

⁶ قذف : (said of God) to shed light into the heart (Lane, 2.2986). Cf. 'hineinstoßen' (*Nahrung*, 1.375).

⁷ الشيطان : in the Qurʾān, the proper noun *al-shayṭān* is equivalent to *Iblīs* but may be distinguished from its plural usage, *shayāṭīn*, which describes devils and the hosts of evil in general (both humans and *jinn*). In Sufism, the lower self (*nafs*) is often described as *Shayṭān*,

humans. The author warns that humans must remain vigilant at all times, since the Devil is everywhere. The enemy is inside humans and can even prompt them to kill their brother.¹ If humans forget about God, the enemy seizes them, misleads them and makes them believe that they will be destitute when their self does right. The author underlines that these warnings against the enemy are clearly stated in the Qurʾān and [2] he quotes a *ḥadīth* from the Prophet Muḥammad:

<The Devil lurked in ambush for a person on his paths and discouraged him from the path to Islam. [The Devil] asked: Are you becoming a Muslim and leaving behind your faith and the faith of your ancestors? But he resisted [the Devil] and became a Muslim. Then [the Devil] lurked in ambush for him on the path of emigration (*hijra*) and asked: Are you emigrating and leaving behind your earth and your sky? But he resisted [the Devil] and emigrated. Then [the Devil] lurked in ambush for him on the path of his *jihād* and asked: Are you struggling when it is a fight with your own self and money²? [If] you struggle, you will be killed, your wives will be married off and your property will be divided. But he resisted [the Devil] and completed his *jihād*. The Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him salvation – said: Anyone who does this and dies, God Most High will surely let him enter Paradise>.

[3] The author quotes a Qurʾānic verse³ and (p. 322) [4] narrates Traditions

regarding various types of the Devil:

A *ḥadīth* from ʿUthmān b. Abiʿl-ʿĀṣ:⁴ <O, the Messenger of God, the

against which Sufis struggle. Cf. *EF*², s.v. ‘*shayṭān*, 2’ (A. Rippin); *EQ*, s.v. ‘devil’ (*idem*). Al-Makkī often uses the term ‘enemy’ (‘*adū*’) interchangeably with *shayṭān*, as the adversary of God, in contrast to the angel (e.g. [7] in this section) and as a description of the devil’s close relation to the lower self (e.g. [24]). In the *Qūt*, the *shayṭān* sometimes has a proper name (e.g. Khinzab in [4]) and does not seem to be treated as a personal name, namely Satan, in a Biblical sense. Accordingly, this term is translated as ‘devil’ in general, rather than Satan or Iblīs. (See also [6]–[7] and their footnotes.) For a detailed explanation of *al-shayṭān*, see *Satan*, esp. Ch. 1 (18–56).

¹ Al-Makkī quotes Q.5:30 which refers to the famous Biblical story of Cain and Abel (cf. Gen. 4:1–16).

² Literally: a fight of the self and money; cf. ‘ein Einsatz von Gut und Blut’ (*Nahrung*, 1.375). The idea here seems to be that those who believe in God and His messenger do not doubt but strive with their property and their persons in God’s path.

³ 4:119.

⁴ ʿUthmān b. Abiʿl-ʿĀṣ b. Bishr b. ʿAbd Duhmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammām al-Thaqafī (d. 51/671). I could not identify this figure. The death date and the full name follow the index of the *Nahrung* (4.243). (The description of the religious figures cannot be seen in Gramlich’s translation.)

Devil came between me and my prayer and my recitation [of the Qurʾān]. [The Messenger] said: That Devil is called Khinzab.¹ If you sense him, seek the protection of God from him and spit on your left side three times. [ʿUthmān] said: I did this and God Most High took him away from me>.

[5] Three more Traditions:

<At the time of ritual ablution before prayer (*wuḍūʿ*), if [you find] a devil called al-Walhān,² seek the protection of God from him>;

<Truly the Devil flows in mankind like blood>;³

[6] <Every one of you has a devil. They asked: And you, too, the Messenger of God? He said: Yes, me too. However, God Most High helped me in [dealing with] him and then he became Muslim⁴>.

[7] The author gives an explanation of two companions⁵ in the heart quoting

Ibn Masʿūd⁶: a companion of the angel and a companion of the enemy. [8] In this

¹ الخنزب and خنزوب, خنزاب; الخنزب are other ways of referring to *shayṭān*, either directly, or via his title 'he [who] is bold in immorality'; the word can also mean 'stinking meat' (Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 2.386). For an explanation of the devils who have specific names and occupations, see *Satan*, 58-60, where Awn refers to the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*.

² الولهان : Satan qui trouble les sens et est cause des distractions, par exemple, dans l'accomplissement de la prière, des ablutions. On dit استعذ الله من الولهان Cherche auprès de Dieu un refuge contre Satan, cause des distractions (Kazimirski, 2.1606). Cf. *Satan*, 58-60.

³ Awn interprets this famous Tradition as 'to be alive means to know Satan in one's very core' (*Satan*, 47), since the Devil exists inside a human, flowing around the body as blood.

⁴ الله تعالى أعاننى عليه فأسلم : as Gramlich also mentions, there seem to be two ways of interpretation: أسلم (he [= the devil] became Muslim) or أسلم (I am secure). Al-Raḍwānī suggests reading it as the former and Gramlich renders it as 'ich heil davonkomme' (*Nahrung*, 1.376). Schimmel quotes a saying of the Prophet, 'When asked how his *shayṭān* behaved, he answered: ... my *shayṭān* has become a Muslim and does whatever I order him', and explains that this *shayṭān* describes 'lower qualities, instincts', which are 'not to be killed, but trained so that even they may serve on the way to God' (*Dimensions*, 113). Awn discusses this internal *shayṭān*, who converted to Islam in the case of Muḥammad and prompts him to do good, with some other similar *ḥadīth* (*Satan*, 48, 60).

⁵ لمة : compagnon (de voyage) (Kazimirski, 2.1022); fellow-traveller (Hava, 695). Cf. 'Einsprechungen' (*Nahrung*, 1.376). It is not entirely clear what al-Makkī means by *lumma*; however, the underlying idea might come from a story of the Day of Judgement in the Qurʾān (50:21-7; although this term does not appear as it is in the Qurʾān) about a comrade (*qarīn*), who is a second witness of man in contrast with his guardian angel. Fahd explains the *qarīn* as an 'inseparable companion', who, according to the ancient Arab traditions, conditions man's activity, as can be seen in the *ḥadīth*, 'There is not one of you who does not have a *qarīn* derived from the *djinn*' and 'There is no descendant of Adam who does not have a *shayṭān* attached to him' (*EF*², s.v. 'shayṭān 1' (T. Fahd)). Neither al-Sarrāj, al-Kalābādhī, al-Qushayrī or Hujwīrī seems to explain this term.

⁶ ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/653): a famous companion of the Prophet and one of the earliest converts to Islam. He is said to have received the Qurʾān directly from the Prophet. Hujwīrī lists him as one of the people of the veranda (*ahl-i ṣuffā*) (*Kashf*, 81). The people of the veranda are those who, among the Companions, renounced the world and lived in a mosque to devote themselves to the worship of God. Al-Muḥāsibī also includes Ibn Masʿūd in his list of the people of the veranda (*Early Mystic*, 63). He is one of the ten figures to whom al-Makkī refers most

regard, the author refers to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī¹ who teaches that God rewards a believer for carrying out what is related to Him and struggling with what is related to the enemy.

[9] Descriptions of the characteristics of ‘the sneaking whisperer (*al-waswās al-khannās*)’.² According to Mujāhid,³ the Devil will shrink (*khanasa*),⁴ if a believer remembers God. If he forgets, the Devil will spread over his heart. [10] According to ‘Ikrima,⁵ in a man, the whisperer resides in his heart and his eyes; in a woman, the Devil resides in her eyes and her buttocks. [11] The author quotes Jarīr b. ‘Abdat al-‘Adawī⁶ who complained to al-‘Alā’ b. Ziyād⁷ regarding temptation which Jarīr found in his heart.

[12] Several characteristics of the heart are illustrated. The author quotes a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet from Abū Ṣāliḥ⁸ who related from Abū Hurayra¹ that:

frequently in the *Qūt* (see Ch. 3.1.2).

¹ Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728): a well-known preacher in Basra, who appears in many Sufi *silsilas*. He is one of the three religious authorities whom al-Makkī quotes most frequently throughout the *Qūt* (see Ch. 3.1.2).

² Q.114:4.

³ Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī (d. 104/722): a famous Qur’ān commentator. He studied under Ibn ‘Abbās (see [52]) and compiled one of the first written exegeses of the Qur’ān.

⁴ الخناس : an epithet applied to the devil, since he retires or shrinks or hides himself at the mention of God (Lane, 1.816).

⁵ ‘Ikrima b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 105/723-4): a well known *ḥadīth* transmitter and a disciple of Ibn ‘Abbās (see [52]). He often transmits traditions from his master and ‘Ā’isha. His traditions often appear in the classical collections of *ḥadīth*, especially in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

⁶ I could not identify this figure. Gramlich does not seem to have succeeded either. He mentions that the name appears as Jarīr b. ‘Ubayda in some manuscripts and Jarīr b. ‘Abd Allāh in the others (*Nahrung*, 1.377 n. 8). A ‘Jarīr’ appears as one of the transmitters of a Tradition cited in Awn’s *Satan*, which is the one concerning the Tradition in [6] (*Satan*, 48). This might be the same Jarīr, but it is not certain.

⁷ Abū Naṣr al-‘Alā’ b. Ziyād b. Maṭar b. Shurayḥ al-‘Adawī al-Baṣrī (d. 94/712-13): I could not identify this figure. The death date and the full name follow the index of the *Nahrung* (4.73).

⁸ Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān al-Sammān al-Zayyāt al-Madanī (d. 101/719-20): I could not identify this figure (see *Nahrung*, 4.67). Abū Ṣāliḥ appears as a transmitter, who relates a Tradition from Abū Hurayra, in the *ḥadīth* cited by Awn (*Satan*, 55); and al-Sarrāj refers to the Qur’anic interpretation of a certain Abū Ṣāliḥ (*Luma’*, 334 [Arabic]). These might be the same Abū Ṣāliḥ,

<If a servant makes a mistake, a dot appears on his heart. If he removes [it], begs pardon [from God] and repents, [the heart] will be polished. If he repeats [making a mistake], [the dot] becomes bigger² until it covers his heart. This is the rust which God Most High mentioned, «*Nay, but that which they have earned is rust upon their hearts*»³>.

(p. 323) [13] A similar saying of Maymūn b. Mahrān⁴ is referred to on the authority of Jaʿfar b. Burqān⁵. The importance of repentance is emphasised, as the Devil cannot approach the heart if it shines like a mirror by removing a dot every time a mistake is made.⁶

[14] The author states that the Messenger of God already informed us that the heart of the believer is free from evil.⁷ A *ḥadīth* of the Prophet is cited from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī,⁸ Abū Kabshat al-Anmārī⁹ and Ḥudhayfa¹⁰:

but it is not certain.

¹ Abū Hurayra (d. 598/678-9): a Companion of the Prophet. Although he was a late convert, a large number of his traditions are recorded especially in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, and the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal.

² Literally: it was increased in [the dot].

³ 83:14.

⁴ Maymūn b. Mahrān (d. 118/735-6): an early *faqīh* and Umayyad administrator, who is recorded as having met al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in Basra. His *ḥadīth* often deal with ritual law.

⁵ Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Burqān al-Kilābī al-Jazarī al-Raqqī (d. ca. 165/782): I could not identify this figure, who seems to be another *ḥadīth* transmitter (see *Nahrung*, 4.121).

⁶ This Tradition about the heart and a dot of sin is famous and appears in various *ḥadīth* collections and works on Sufism (*ibid.*, 1.377). It should be added that al-Muḥāsibī also relates this Tradition (*Early Mystic*, 89).

⁷ أجرد : naked, bare, (of heart) free from hatred (Hava, 85); a heart free from concealed hatred, free from deceit, dishonesty or dissimulation (Lane, 1.407).

⁸ Abū Saʿīd Saʿd b. Mālik b. Sinān al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-Khudrī (d. 74/693): one of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. More than a thousand *ḥadīth* are attributed to him (*Risāla*, 97 n. 5). Al-Qushayrī refers to him five times (*ibid.*, 97, 104, 138, 147, 197); Hujwīrī also relates a story from Abū Saʿīd (*Kashf*, 396 n. 1).

⁹ Abū Kabshat al-Anmārī al-Madhḥijī: I could not identify this figure. Gramlich does not seem to have succeeded either. An ʿAbū Kabshaʿ appears in the list of the people of the veranda in the *Kashf*, where Hujwīrī describes him as ʿthe Apostle’s clientʼ (*ibid.*, 81). This Abū Kansha might be the same Abū Kabshat al-Anmārī in the *Qūt*, but it cannot be certain.

¹⁰ Ḥudayfa b. Ḥusayl al-Yamān (d. 36/657): a native of Basra, an early ascetic and one of the people of the veranda (*ibid.*), who is often regarded as a Sufi prototype (*Early Mystic*, 64; *Mysticism*, 5). His Traditions often deal with eschatological issues and hypocrites (*Knowledge*, 383 n. 15). Al-Sarrāj refers to him three times (*Lumaʿ*, 19, 137, 378 [Arabic]), and al-Kalābādhī once (*Taʿarruf*, 87). Massignon describes Ḥudayfa as a ʿprecursorʼ of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and states that his science of the four types of the heart, which can be seen in this paragraph, is often used among the later Sufis (*Essai*, 161, 160; see also 235).

<There are four [types] of hearts: a heart with a shining light, this is the heart of the believer. A dark, reverse heart, this is the heart of the unbeliever. A covered¹ heart, [which] is enclosed in its cover, this is the heart of the hypocrite. An armoured² heart, it has [both] belief and hypocrisy. The belief in there is likened to the herb [which] good water supplies, while the hypocrisy in there is likened to an ulcer [which] pus and matter supply. [The believer] will be judged [on the Last Day] by which kind of supply has dominated [his heart]>.

[15] The author goes on to discuss the importance of remembrance (*dhikr*) and God-fearingness (*taqwā*)³. Two Qur'anic verses are quoted.⁴ [16] According to the author, God has already informed us that remembrance of Him cleanses the heart and saves humans from evil. The first step to remembrance is God-fearingness. The author shows a stark contrast between pious fear of God, which is the gate to the hereafter, and desire (*hawā*)⁵, which is the gate to this world. [17] Two more Qur'anic verses are cited concerning this subject.⁶ It is stressed that those who

¹ أغلف : covered from hearing and accepting the truth (Lane, 2.2284); hardened heart (Hava, 532).

² مصفح : (of a heart) turned away from the truth, in which are combined faith and hypocrisy, double-faced, one who meets the unbelievers with one face and the believers with another face (Lane, 2.1696).

³ اتقى : تقوى to guard oneself from sin, to be pious, careful of one's religious duties (*ibid.*, 2.3059). Pickthall translates *taqwā* in various ways in his translation of the Qur'ān, such as 'to ward off evil' (2:197), 'restraint from evil' (7:26), 'duty to God' (9:108), and *muttaqūn* as 'the God fearing' (2:177), 'those who keep their duty to God' (8:34; 13:35; 47:15) and so on. In the above-quoted Qur'anic verse, he renders الذين اتقوا as 'those who ward off (evil)', while Jones has 'those who protect themselves'. Cf. 'Gottesfürchtigkeit' (*Nahrung*, 1.378). *Taqwā* is one of the key notions in the Qur'ān and could be rendered as simply 'piety'. However, because of its strong eschatological connotation, which is shared in the Old Testament, and in order to differentiate this term from ورع or بر , *taqwā* is translated here as 'pious fear of God' or 'God-fearingness' in general. For a detailed, semantic discussion on this concept, see *God and Man*, 233-9.

⁴ 4:122 (al-Raḍwānī does not indicate this as a Qur'anic verse), 7:201.

⁵ هوى : another key concept in the Qur'ān, which immediately causes the believers to go astray. Izutsu explains its rough meaning as 'the natural inclination of the human soul, born of lusts and animal appetites'. He argues that in the Qur'ān, the opposite of *hawā* is 'ilm, 'the revealed knowledge of the Truth', and later, in *kalām*, the 'people of *ahwā*' designates heretics (*Concepts*, 139-41; citations from 140 and 141 respectively). Hujwīrī presents a similar argument and elucidates the close connection between *hawā* and the lower self (*Kashf*, 196-200, 207-8). Here Nicholson translates *hawā* as 'passion', Pickthall 'desire' (e.g. 45:23), Arberry 'caprice' (the same verse), Jones 'lust' (the same), Gramlich 'Lustverlangen' (*Nahrung*, 1.378). Knysh explains the term as 'urges and drives of one's lower soul (*nafs*)' (*Epistle*, 419). Here it is rendered as 'desire'.

⁶ 2:63/7:171, 2:187.

believe in God and act in accordance with His revealed law are made inaccessible to the Devil.

The author refers to three Qur'anic verses.¹ (p. 324) He differentiates the body, the external tool, from the heart, the internal tool. [18] According to the author, God created everything in pairs to have better understanding of the other. Three pairing instruments are introduced. The first pair is the self (*nafs*) and the soul (*rūḥ*). These are places to encounter the enemy and the angel, immorality and God-fearingness. The second is reason (*ʿaql*) and desire. They act as assistance² and temptation in accordance with the will of God. The third is knowledge (*ʿilm*) and belief (*īmān*), which are apportioned by Divine mercy. These are the instruments of the heart and its hidden commended qualities³. God created humans with His wisdom. The author gives special importance to the point that humankind has the capacity to distinguish evil from good and choosing the right one. Of the external and internal instruments, according to the author, the heart takes its position in the centre of them like the king. The other instruments are its soldiers who should render a service to it.

[19] The author introduces six impulses (*khawāṭir*) which expound the function of the heart. Praise to God. [20] The close relation between the heart and God is emphasised.

¹ 82:6-7, 95:4, 51:49.

² توفيق : assistance, concours que Dieu accorde à l'homme (Kazimirski, 2.1578); divine guidance, the completion of one's wishes (Steingass, 336). Hujwīrī refers to this idea, where Nicholson translates it as 'Divine aid' (*Kashf*, 6, 288). See also *Theology*, 210, where Izutsu renders the term as 'God's assistance'. Cf. 'Bereitung zur Willfahung' (*Nahrung*, 1.378).

³ المعاني : the qualities that are commended, approved (the charms, graces), such as knowledge, science, piety and generosity (Lane, 2.2181). Cf. 'Wesenheiten' (*Nahrung*, 1.379).

The Turner [of the heart]¹ laid down the fine sensations² of yearning and fear³ on it, wherein He shines with the lights of majesty and omnipotence. [This is] what He wished for the people of the highest companions⁴ and of the lowest kingdom.⁵

It is stressed that the six impulses are the instruments which God created in order to test all humans.

[21] The first group of the six is the impulse of the self (*nafs*) and the impulse of the enemy (*'adū*). These are to be blamed. They appear by desire and ignorance.

[22] The next group is the impulse of the soul (*rūh*) and the impulse of the angel (*malak*). These are to be praised. They appear by truth and knowledge.

[23] The fifth is the impulse of reason (*'aql*). This is a double-edged sword. It can be used for both the first two blameworthy impulses and the latter two praiseworthy impulses. The author highlights the significance of the proper use of reason and intellect. According to him, desire arises through lust (*shahwa*)⁶, (p. 325) when reason is not used appropriately. In order to employ reason correctly, humans

¹ مقلب : the turner of hearts (an epithet applied to God) (Lane, 2.2555); مقلب: the converter of hearts (God) (Steingass, 1295).

² لطائف : bon mot, mot spirituel ou piquant, expression élégante, finesse (du langage ou d'une science), bienfait, faveur, tout ce qui est fin et exquis (Kazimirski, 2.997). Cf. 'feine Wirklichkeiten' (*Nahrung*, 1.379).

³ رغبوت : an epithet applied to a man; one who makes a petition, who asks, seeks, or who prays with humility and sincerity. Some proverbs: رهباك خير من رغباك the fearing thee is better than the loving thee; رهبي من الله و الرغبى إليه fear should be of God (not of humankind) and petition should be to Him (Lane, 1.1111). Al-Muḥāsibī states that this desire (*rāghiba*) is from the lower self (*Early Mystic*, 91). Knysh translates *raghba* as 'desire, aspiration' and *rahba* 'horror before God' (*Epistle*, 422). Cf. '(feine Wirklichkeiten) des Reiches des Verlangens und Fürchtens' (*Nahrung*, 1.379).

⁴ أهل الرفيق الأعلى ; according to the Tradition: بل الرفيق الأعلى من الجنة Nay, rather, the highest companions of Paradise (Lane, 1.1126); cf. «The best of company are they! (وحسن أولئك رفيقا)» (4:69). Cf. 'die zu den höchsten Gefährten (im Paradies) gehören' (*Nahrung*, 1.379).

⁵ عرض هذا : cf. «They grasp the goods of this low life (as the price of evil doing)» (الأدنى) (7:169). Cf. 'die das unterste Himmelreich besitzen' (*Nahrung*, 1.379).

⁶ According to Hujwārī, *shahwa* is the 'most manifest attribute of the lower soul' and is 'dispersed in different parts of the human body', so that the human being is 'bound to guard all his members' from *shahwa* (*Kashf*, 208-9).

must have right intention in the heart. Reason can then serve as ‘a witness (*shāhid*)¹ of the angel and a supporter of the impulse of the soul’. It is emphasised that there is no compulsion on humans to use reason in either a good or bad way.

[24] The author illustrates the similarity between reason and body. According to him, both lead humans to either good or evil, as reason and body are ‘at times with the self and the enemy, and at other times with the soul and the angel’. The importance of discernment is emphasised. The way in which reason is used leads humans to either reward or punishment. [25] The author goes on to describe how humans have choice. It is stressed that reason is not hidden. Humans ignore it and then lust arises. This is a test from God and its consequence is either ‘the joy of happiness or the pain of grief’.

[26] The significance of intention in the heart is highlighted as a criterion of the Supreme Authority² on the Last Day. The double-edged quality of reason is repeated. The author lays stress on the close link between reason and judgement, and the close relationship between the self, lust and desire. Each concept has its own share from God. [27] Three Qur’anic verses are quoted³ to support this argument. All Divine principles are stated in the Qur’ān. It is emphasised that His guidance leads humans to His right way and leads them astray.

¹ شاهد : al-Qushayrī explains the essential meaning of this term as ‘presence (*hādir*)’, i.e. something present in the heart. If, for instance, a person’s mind is preoccupied with a certain thing, this thing is called his/her witness, because this is constantly present in the heart (*Risāla*, 86). Cf. Knysh, who translates the term as ‘a sign of divine grace or presence’ (*Epistle*, 423).

² الأمر و النهي : ordre et défense, c-à-d. commandement, autorité (Kazimirski, 2.1360). Cf. ‘das Gebotene und Verbotene’ (*Nahrung*, 1.380).

³ 20:50, 7:37, 22:4.

[28] The sixth impulse is the impulse of religious certainty (*yaqīn*).¹ This is ‘the essence of belief and the highest knowledge’. (p. 326) This impulse is special and appears only by truth. It arrives at the heart when humans reach the stage where they are completely content with God’s choice.² The signs of religious certainty are subtle. However, this impulse is not hidden, emphasises the author, when it is aimed and intended. It is therefore important to remember God. According to the author, those possessing religious certainty are those whom God praised for their remembrance of Him.

Descriptions of characteristics of the heart. A Qur’anic verse is quoted.³ The author cites a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet:

<Anything which becomes ingrained in your mind,⁴ leave it. Sin is the pain⁵ of hearts>.

Another saying of the Prophet regarding piety and sin:

<Consult your heart even though *mufītīs* have given you a legal opinion>.

According to the author, this quotation shows that *mufītīs*⁶ know how to interpret revealed knowledge, but not concealed knowledge. It is stressed that believers should seek internal knowledge.

¹ Absolute certainty in belief should be the aim of any believer. This is one of the central notions often discussed in Sufism; see, e.g. *Ta’arruf*, 103; *Kashf*, 381-2; *Risāla*, 85, 178-82. Izutsu discusses the inseparable relation between certainty and belief in the discourse of al-Ghazālī (*Theology*, 184).

² اختيار : one of the terminologies of Sufis, explains Hujwīrī, signifying ‘their preference of God’s choice to their own’ (*Kashf*, 388).

³ 50:37.

⁴ حاك الشيء فى صدرى : حاك ; ما حاك فى صدرك the thing became fixed in my mind (Lane, 1.673); être fortement établi, enraciné (se dit d’une chose qui l’est dans l’esprit, dans le cœur) (Kazimirski, 1.516).

⁵ الإثم ما حز فى قلبك : حزاز : pain in the heart, arising from wrath, in Tradition: Sin is that which makes an impression upon thy heart, causing thee to waver lest it be an act of disobedience because of thy not being easy respecting it (Lane, 1.558).

⁶ Read as المفتين instead of المتقين . According to Gramlich, who also reads it as ‘Gutachter’, the former term appears in some manuscripts (*Nahrung*, 1.381).

[29] The author makes a comparison between the people possessing external knowledge (*ahl al-‘ilm al-zāhir*) and the people possessing internal knowledge (*ahl al-‘ilm al-bāṭin*). The former group understand the external principle of God according to their knowledge of external language. The internal principle of God, however, can be understood only through internal knowledge of the heart. The author calls special attention to the fact that the heart is a *faqīh*, lighted by belief. [30] It is emphasised that knowledge of the heart is ‘the greatest knowledge’. The Prophet describes the heart as a *qāḍī*, greater than *muftīs* in terms of judgement. The author disapproves of those who follow scholars’ opinion blindly (*taqlīd*), not the heart. A *ḥadīth* is quoted:

<Piety is that by which the heart feels secure and by which the self feels assured, even though [*muftīs*] furnish you with legal information and give you legal opinion>.

[31] The author highlights the significance of remembrance (*dhikr*) of God and control of the self, both of which lead to the utmost peace of reassurance¹ and piety in the heart. Two Qur’anic verses are quoted² regarding characteristics of the heart. (p. 327) [32] The author quotes two Qur’anic verses³ concerning God’s ‘hidden enemies’ and praises His close associates (*awliyā’*)⁴ as they ‘listen to Him, manifest His reminder and observe His unseen’. [33] The author gives an explanation of two opposite groups: those who go astray from the straight path and those who are

¹ سكينة : tranquillité, quiétude (de corps, d’esprit), *surtout* cet état de quiétude intérieure qui dispose l’homme à recevoir les révélations divines (Kazimirski, 1.1116).

² 13:28, 48:4.

³ 18:102, 53:35.

⁴ وليّ الله ; أولياء : the friend of God, the constant obeyer of God, a saint (Lane, 2.3060).

rightly guided. Four Qur’anic verses are quoted concerning this.¹

[34] The author quotes a *ḥadīth* which summarises the quality of the heart.

The Prophet said:

<Pious fear of God is here>, and pointed out the heart.

The author goes on to discuss characteristics of the heart. Three Qur’anic verses are quoted.² It is stressed that the heart becomes closed by sins, but God-fearingness can undo the seal. The author refers to a Tradition:

<As God wished a servant well, God made a restrainer³ such as his self, and a preacher such as his heart>.

Another Tradition is quoted. The importance of following the heart is emphasised. If humans listen to the heart, God will protect them.

[35] Two Qur’anic verses are cited.⁴ The close relationship between the heart and God is emphasised. [36] (p. 328) The author quotes two Qur’anic verses⁵ and highlights the importance of repentance from desire. [37] The author gives special importance to the danger of blindness of the heart:

*«For indeed it is not the eyes that grow blind, but it is the hearts, which are within the bosoms, that grow blind».*⁶

The author describes true believers as ‘the people of hearts’, who can ‘take a warning without a warning from the created beings and restrict [themselves] without a restriction of the external’. It is important for all believers, according to the author, to

¹ 11:24, 11:20, 50:37, 11:34.

² 7:100, 5:108, 2:282.

³ زاجر : voix intérieure, lumière intérieure, conscience établie par Dieu dans le coeur de l’homme qui l’éloigne des mauvaises actions et l’invite au bien (Kazimirski, 1.974); a diviner; because, when he sees that which he thinks to be of evil omen, he cries out with a high ... voice, forbidding to undertake the thing in question (Lane, 1.1216-17). Cf. ‘Tadler’ (*Nahrung*, 1.382).

⁴ 3:193, 41:44.

⁵ 66:4, 9:74.

⁶ 22:46.

be aware of the aforementioned six impulses and to follow internal knowledge of the heart. [38] Almightyness of God is emphasised. God delights the heart and depresses it according to His will.

[39] The author illustrates the heart and impulse of religious certainty, using a metaphor of three qualities which affect the level of certainty.

One of them is belief; its position in religious certainty is a place of fire stone. The second is knowledge; its place is a position of a fire steel. The third is reason and it is the seat of flame. When these causes come together, impulse of certainty is lighted in the heart.

[40] Another analogy of the heart with a lamp. Reason is likened to its light; knowledge is the oil; and belief is the wick. In accordance with these three qualities, the level of brightness of religious certainty which shines in the heart changes. This is similar to belief, whose strength accords with piety and fear.

The author moves on to discuss the importance of the knowledge of *tawḥīd* which appears through the loss of desire. Two Qurʾanic verses are quoted concerning knowledge of God.¹ [41] The author reiterates the significance of the knowledge of *tawḥīd* and renunciation from this world, since this increases belief in the heart. (p. 329) Knowledge is important, because believers should confirm, according to the author, what they believe using their spiritual vision (*mushāhada*)².

The less adequate the knowledge of the heart through God Most High,

¹ 47:19, 11:14.

² Al-Sarrāj has a section on the state of *mushāhada* and explains it as witnessing God through the heart (*Lumaʿ*, 68 [Arabic]). Hujwīrī also has a section on this term and states that *mushāhada* is ‘spiritual vision of God in public and private’ (*Kashf*, 329-30; Nicholson renders the term as ‘contemplation’). Al-Qushayrī explains that *mushāhada* comes after unveiling (*mukāshafa*), which follows the presence (*muḥāḍara*) of the heart with God (*Risāla*, 75). Renard renders the term as ‘witnessing/vision’ (*Knowledge*, 36); Böwering as ‘contemplative witnessing’ (*Vision, passim*); Knysh explains it as ‘direct witnessing of God and/or the true realities of existence’ (*Epistle*, 422). Cf. ‘Schauen’ (*Nahrung*, 1.383).

the qualities of His attributes and the principles of His kingdom become, the less the belief of this servant becomes. He then confirms what he believes from behind a veil, since what he has taken possession of is the attachment to [worldly] connections¹. He listens to words from behind a covering, since he cannot increase his piety immediately.² Corresponding to this, his belief becomes weak. He imagines his vision and [becomes] incapable of verifying the truth.

[42] The author starts discussing different levels of knowledge, giving four examples. First, the author emphasises a great difference between those who confirm the knowledge of God ‘in close proximity without covering’ and those who confirm it ‘from a distance with a veil’.

Although both of them are [called] believers together, [what is] between their belief, in proximity, greatness, growth and deficiency, is like [what is] between ten and a hundred thousand. The belief of the heart of the Muslim is one hundredth (*miʿshār*) of one hundredth of one tenth [as small as] the belief of the heart of the one with religious certainty.

[43] The second example is about various ways in which a piece of information is received and accepted. The author highlights the danger of reasoning and shows a stark contrast between second-hand knowledge and first-hand knowledge. The importance of verification is emphasised. [44] The author insists that no comparison can be made between the belief of ordinary believers and that of those possessing gnosis (*ʿārifūn*). The belief of the former is based on knowledge of information, which should be rejected unless it is confirmed. (p. 330) The belief of the latter, on the other hand, is based on direct information which has been verified by themselves. Gnosis (*maʿrifa*) and religious certainty appear only when the information of knowledge is properly confirmed and every doubt is banished.

[45] This is an example of the knowledge of belief of those possessing

¹ أسباب : a connexion, or tie, of relationship by marriage (Lane, 1.1285). Cf. ‘Zweitursachen’ (*Nahrung*, 1.383).

² Literally: due to his incapacity to rush to piety.

religious certainty. [Their belief] is among the belief of the ordinary believers [which comes] from the knowledge of probable information and hearing dubious words from behind a veil. The name, belief, is applied to all of them.¹ However, the first one knew that I had it through what had been told to him, and then he accepted [it] as true. The second one knew through what he had heard and inferred without having seen with his own eyes, and then he asserted [it] positively. The third one is the one who examined with his own eyes, and then affirmed [it].

The author refers to two similar *ḥadīth* of the Prophet regarding this:

<Information (*khābar*) is not the same as examination with one's own eyes (*mu'āyana*)>;

<The one who is informed is not the same as the one who examines with his own eyes>.

[46] In the third example, the author compares visual perception in the daytime and that at night. The danger of inference, expectation and assumption is emphasised.

It is likened to seeing a thing in the moonlight. It insinuates² and suggests difficulties. On the other hand, seeing in the sunlight indeed reveals the matter as it [really] is. This is similar to the light of religious certainty [and] the light of belief.

[47] In the fourth example, the author differentiates superficial conduct from actual conduct in its full sense. When, for instance, a quadruple prayer, which consists of four *rak'as*, is performed, there is a difference in terms of the benefit between the one who performs the prayer from the beginning, and the one who joins the prayer late and performs only from the last *rak'a*. It is stated that both are called believers and both receive benefit from performing *rak'a*, as a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet says:

<One [who] performed *rak'a* in the prayer, indeed, performed the prayer>.

However, (p. 331) the author stresses that those worshippers are not equal in the

¹ Literally: the designation of belief befalls all of them.

² سنج : insinuer (Kazimirski 1.1149); to mention indirectly (Lane, 1.1441). Cf. 'es macht zweifelhafte Erscheinungen undeutlich' (*Nahrung*, 1.385).

sense of completion of the prayer and its real sense. Hence, they receive different amounts of benefit from performing the prayer in a group.

[48] Likewise, the believers are not equal in terms of the completion of belief and its realities, even though they are equal in name and sense. Their difference [will appear] in the hereafter.

The author highlights the significance of the degree and the quality of belief, both of which affect the afterlife. A *ḥadīth* is quoted:

<Eliminate one whose heart has the weight of a speck of belief, half of [its] weight, a quarter of [its] weight and a grain of barleycorn and a speck of belief>.¹

It is stated that the ranking of believers in the hereafter results from the different amounts of belief in their hearts.

[49] The author draws a lesson from this *ḥadīth*. It is explained that even though a person has the 'weight of a *dīnār* of belief' in the heart, it is possible for him to go to Hell, depending on the gravity of sins which he committed. If the amount of belief increases in his heart, he might not abide in the 'House of Shame' forever. However, the author stresses that:

[If] a person's belief decreases from [the weight of] a speck, he would not leave Hell, even though his appellation and his name are superficially among the believers. It is because he is, in the knowledge of God, one of the hypocrites and the wicked. God Most High indeed narrated their characteristic: «*And lo! the wicked verily will be in hell*»,² then He said: «*And will not be absent thence*».³

As in the case of Hell, a grade of Heaven accords with the amount of belief in the heart. It is emphasised that even those in Heaven should make a constant effort to strengthen their belief, as the author says:

¹ This analogy and a story in [49] are similar to a saying of Ḥudayfa b. al-Yamān, who is recorded as having said that 'what was most excellent was that which was best understood, combined with the weight of a grain of faith in the heart' (*Early Mystic*, 64).

² 82:14.

³ 82:16. Cf. 82:15 «*They will burn therein on the Day of Judgment*».

The increase of belief in weight happens to those in the uppermost places in the seventh heaven.¹ Those [whose] grades are higher² than those in the seventh heaven ascend [like] the stars twinkling on the horizon of the sky.

Different grades of Heaven are underlined and a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet is quoted in this regard.

[50] The author highlights the superiority of the belief of those possessing religious certainty over that of ordinary believers in various ways. A *ḥadīth* of the Prophet is quoted:

<A thing is never better than a thousand of its similar images, save humans. Upon my life! The heart of the one with religious certainty is better than a thousand hearts of Muslims, because his belief is above a hundred beliefs (p. 332) of believers, and his knowledge of God Most High is many times as much as the knowledge of a hundred Muslims>.

[51] A saying of Abū Muḥammad³ is cited:

God Most High gives part of belief with the weight of Mt. Uḥud to some believers, while He gives that of a speck to the others.

[52] A Qur'anic verse is quoted.⁴ The author reiterates that 'elevation of every heart occurs according to one's belief'. Hence, this verse:

*«God will raise up in rank those of you who believe and have been given knowledge».*⁵

An interpretation of Ibn 'Abbās⁶ is referred to:

'Those who have been given knowledge' are above the believers by seven hundred ranks, and between every two ranks is like what is between the sky and the earth.

¹ عليون ; pl. of على : a place in the seventh heaven, to which ascend the souls of the believers (Lane, 2.2147). Cf. 'Illiyūn' (*Nahrung*, 1.386).

² أهل الدرجات العلى : cf. 20:75-6 «But whoso cometh unto Him a believer, having done good works, for such are the high stations (أولئك لهم الدرجات العلى); Gardens of Eden underneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide for ever. That is the reward of him who groweth».

³ Abū Muḥammad Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896): a famous mystic and one of the three religious authorities to whom al-Makkī refers most frequently in the *Qūt* (see Ch. 3.1.2).

⁴ 3:139.

⁵ 58:11 (Arberry).

⁶ 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās (d. 68/687): a cousin of the Prophet and an expert on Qur'anic exegesis. He is one of the ten major figures whom al-Makkī mentions in the *Qūt* (see Ch. 3.1.2).

The author cites a Tradition, which states that the seventh heaven is only for those whose heart is in the first rank. A *ḥadīth* of the Prophet is quoted:

<The superiority of the one with knowledge over the worshipper is likened to the superiority of the moon over the moving stars>.

Another *ḥadīth* is cited concerning this.

[53] The importance of having the knowledge of God and religious certainty is highlighted. The image of the heart as a lamp is referred to.¹ [54] The author repeats the close relationship between reason (light), knowledge (oil) and belief (wick) in a lamp of the heart. The quality of each component affects the others. In conjunction with the purity and strength of each element, the knowledge of God and religious certainty appear in the heart. A Qur’anic verse is quoted.²

[55] As the impulse of religious certainty appears in the heart corresponding to the above-mentioned three elements,³ the impulse of desire appears in the heart corresponding to three different qualities.

[These are] ignorance (*jahl*), greed (*tamaʿ*) (p. 333) and love (*ḥubb*) of this world. The impulse of desire becomes weak and strong according to the control of these three [qualities] in the self, and [according to] their strength.

The causality between desire and these three, and that between religious certainty and knowledge, belief and reason are emphasised. The author quotes a saying of ‘Alī⁴:

<Indeed God has vessels on His earth. They are hearts. The more delicate, purer and firmer they are, the more preferable they will be to God>. [‘Alī] then explained it and said: Their firmness is in faith, their pureness is in religious certainty and their delicacy is for brothers.

¹ See [40].

² 6:96/36:37/41:12.

³ See also [39].

⁴ He is one of the three authorities to whom al-Makkī refers most frequently (see Ch. 3.1.2).

[56] The author expands this statement and stresses that the quality of a vessel of the heart varies according to the quality of the inside.

The more delicate, purer and higher [the vessels] are, [the more] appropriate they become for the king, notables¹ and the good. The thicker and worse they are, [the more] appropriate they become for filth. What is between those is appropriate for what is between them.

[57] Another metaphor of the heart as scales:

The delicate assay-balance² is suitable for measuring gold precisely, while the simple³ and rough measure is suitable for plants⁴ and livestock.

The close connection between the exterior and the interior is emphasised. The author gives special importance to how directly the change of the one affects the other.

[58] Two types of the heart are described. Concerning the first type, a Qurʿanic verse is quoted:

*«The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass».*⁵

The author introduces an interpretation of Ubayy b. Kaʿb⁶:

The similitude [of His light] is as the light of the believer. ... The heart of the believer is the niche wherein is a lamp; his word is light, his deed is light and he lives in the light.

Regarding the second type, the author quotes another Qurʿanic verse, *«or as darkness on a vast, abysmal sea»*,⁷ and refers to an interpretation of Ubayy who said:

[This is] the heart (**p. 334**) of the hypocrite; his word is dark, his deed is dark and he lives in darkness.⁸

¹ وجه : chief man, leading man (Hava, 854); nobility, high rank, a prince (Steingass, 1458). Cf. 'Vornehmen' (*Nahrung*, 1.388).

² طيار : an assay-balance for gold (Lane, 2.1904).

³ Literally: thick, dense.

⁴ قنط : sorte de plante très répandue dans l'Yémen et en Abyssinie (Kazimirski, 2.671).

⁵ 24:35. This is one of the most beloved verses for Sufis, called the Light Verse. See Ch. 3.1.1.

⁶ Ubayy b. Kaʿb b. Qays al-Anṣārī al-Madanī (d. between 19/640 and 35/656): a secretary of the Prophet Muḥammad at Medina. He is known for his memory of the Qurʿān.

⁷ 24:40.

⁸ In the Qurʿān, this verse concerns *«those who disbelieve»* (الذين كفروا) (24:39). Regarding *kufṛ* and *munāfiq*, see the footnote to [62].

[59] The author emphasises the close connection between the heart and God, referring to various sayings. According to the author, Zayd b. Aslam¹ interpreted His word, «on a guarded tablet»,² and said that this designates 'the heart of the believer'.

A saying of Sahl:

The similitude of the heart and the chest is as the throne and the seat [of God].

[60] A *ḥadīth* of the Prophet is cited on the authority of Ibn 'Umar³:

<He was asked: O, the Messenger of God, where is God on the earth? He said: In the hearts of His servants, the believers>.

The author quotes a Tradition handed down from God:

<My sky is not wide enough for me, and neither is My earth. The heart of My servant, the believer, is wide enough for me>.

Another Tradition is referred to concerning this.

[61] The author goes on to discuss the qualities of the heart of true believers.

According to a Tradition:

<The most excellent dress [in which] the servant clothes [himself] is submission in reassurance (*sakīna*)>.

It is stated that those possessing religious certainty and gnosis take the 'colour of God'⁴ for their dress.⁵ Another *ḥadīth*:

<He was asked: O, the Messenger of God, who is the best among the

¹ Abū Usāma Zayd b. Aslam al-'Adawī (d. ca. 130/747): I could not identify this figure. The death date follows Gramlich's index (*Nahrung*, 4.262).

² 85:22. 'A guarded tablet (لوح محفوظ)' is often considered to designate أم الكتاب, the essence of the Qur'ān (3:7); cf. *Mawsū'a*, 592.

³ 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 73/693): one of the prominent figures most frequently appearing in *ḥadīth*. He is a son of the second Caliph, but his fame was earned from his ethical personality. Together with his father, Ibn 'Umar is one of the ten authorities in the *Qūt* (see Ch. 3.1.2).

⁴ صبغة الله: according to Kazimirski, this means 'religion mahométane' (1.1308); however, in this context, it seems that this phrase comes from a Qur'anic verse: «(We take our) colour from God (ṣibghat Allāh), and who is better than God at colouring» (2:138). Cf. 'Religionsgewandung Gottes' (*Nahrung*, 1.389).

⁵ This seems to correspond to the description of a state of those possessing religious certainty, where they prefer God's choice to their own. See [28].

people? He replied: Every believer [who has] the determined¹ heart>. Then the Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him salvation – explained it and said: <This is God-fearing devotion which has no disloyalty in it, nor injustice, nor hatred, nor envy>.

[62] The author introduces an interpretation of God's word, «*Except for him who comes to God with a pure heart*»,² and states that 'a pure heart' means that 'there is nothing in it save God'. According to another interpretation, 'pure' here means 'pure from unbelief (*shirk*)³ and hypocrisy (*nifāq*)'. [63] The author expands these two blameworthy concepts and quotes two *ḥadīth* of the Prophet:

<Unbelief in my *umma* is more hidden than a creeping ant>;
<The majority of hypocrites⁴ in my *umma* are its [Qur'ān] reciters>.

The author emphasises that all worshippers have unbelief and hypocrisy apart from those possessing gnosis.

[64] The author moves on to discuss the impulse of religious certainty. It is emphasised that certainty does not appear only through the understanding of the superficial meaning of what is revealed. The author stresses the importance of the understanding of hidden meaning and a constant effort to deepen internal knowledge of the heart.

The Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him salvation –

¹ محموم : decreed, appointed (Lane, 1.638); definite, determined (Steingass, 1190). Cf. 'gefeget' (*Nahrung*, 1.389).

² 26:89 (Arberry).

³ As can be seen in Gramlich's translation of *shirk* as 'Vielgötterei' (*Nahrung* 1.389), etymologically, this term signifies ascription of partners to God. However, in the overall context of the *Qūt*, *shirk* seems to have a wider meaning than that. In this paragraph [62], 'idolatry' would sound fine, but al-Makkī seems to treat *shirk* and 'hypocrisy' as parallel concepts, and Lane renders the former as 'unbelief or misbelief' and describes it as a synonym of *kufr* (Lane, 2.1542). Izutsu argues that *shirk* and *kufr* are interchangeable in the Qur'ān, e.g. in the sense of 'not following Revelation', 'forging against God', 'going astray', because the two concepts are based on 'uncertain ... knowledge' (*Concepts*, 130-9). He also discusses the fundamental relationship of *shirk* with, e.g. arrogance (*takabbur*) and wrong doing (*ẓulm*) (*ibid.*, 145, 171). On the whole, *shirk* should be understood as the state which is completely against the true, *ḥanīf* religion (*ibid.*, 192). In the light of this, *shirk* is rendered as 'unbelief' here.

⁴ Literally: my hypocrites.

said to Ibn 'Abbās: <O God, teach him faith and instruct him [how to] interpret>. Likewise, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said: The Book of God Most High is our only thing that the Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him salvation – confided to us. However, God Most High bestows understanding of His Book on a servant. Likewise, it is said in the interpretation of His word – the Most High –, «*He giveth wisdom unto whom He will*»,¹ [that 'Alī] said: [It means] the understanding of the Book of God. (P. 335) The Most Truthful among the narrators said: «*And We made Solomon to understand (the case)*». ² He bestowed understanding of Him unto him and, through it, raised him above judgement and knowledge, which he shared with his father. He then raised him above the legal opinion of his father.³

[65] The author quotes another *ḥadīth* on the authority of 'Alī:

Religious certainty is [based] on four parts: on the enlightenment of intelligence, the interpretation of wisdom, taking warning and [learning] the *sunna* of those in the first rank. One [who] enlightens intelligence [can] interpret wisdom, one [who] interprets wisdom will be aware of the warning and one [who] is aware of the warning is in the first rank.

[66] The author stresses that the people with religious certainty are those who are fully aware of the presence of God, and those who acquire gnosis by following His internal orders. They therefore realised the necessity of the impulses, which the author explained earlier in this section,⁴ in order to understand the knowledge of the Hidden. [67] Two Traditions are quoted. It is emphasised that the true believer is able to know what is behind the external through the 'light of God Most High', which is interpreted as religious certainty. Two Qua'nic verses are cited concerning this:

«*Lo! therein verily are portents for those who read the signs*»;⁵
 «*We have made clear the revelations for people who are sure*».⁶

¹ 2:269.

² 21:79.

³ This refers to a verse about Solomon and his father David, and their judgement concerning the field (21:78). As al-Makkī describes here, it continues as: «*And unto each of them We gave judgement and knowledge*». Cf. The Bible (1 King 3:12), which tells a story about Solomon asking God for wisdom: 'Behold, I have done according to thy words: lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart' (King James).

⁴ See [21]-[28].

⁵ 15:75.

⁶ 2:118.

[68] The author has great regard for the sayings of true believers. According to him, Abu'l-Dardā'¹ used to say:

God Most High casts (*qadhafa*) [truth] into the hearts of [true believers]² and makes it happen on their tongues.

[69] It is critical to differentiate true believers from ordinary believers. Thinking (*ẓann*)³ of the former is trustworthy; however, that of the latter is not. [70] A saying is quoted:

The hand of God Most High is over the mouths of the wise. They utter only what God – may He be praised and glorified – made ready for them from the truth.

[71] Another saying is cited. It is stated that God reveals some of His secrets to those whom He wills. [72] In this regard, a saying of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb⁴ is referred to:

Bear in mind what you are told by those who follow advice. They are the ones to whom truthful matters are revealed.

[73] Two Qur'anic verses are cited.⁵ (p. 336) The importance of sound judgement is highlighted. [74] The author quotes two more Qur'anic verses.⁶ It is emphasised that God bestows the gift of knowledge and discernment upon those who fear Him.

¹ Abu'l-Dardā' 'Uwaymir al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī (d. ca. 32/652): an authority on the Qur'ān, and listed as one of the people of the veranda by Hujwīrī (*Kashf*, 80) and al-Muḥāsibī (*Early Mystic*, 63). Abu'l-Dardā' is one of the early ascetics, and so is his wife, Umm al-Dardā' (d. 81/700). She is described as one of the most famous female ascetics of Basra (*Mysticism*, 26). Al-Makkī mentions Umm al-Dardā' twice in the *Qūt* (*Nahrung*, 4.240). Al-Sarrāj refers to Abu'l Dardā' twice (*Luma'*, 135, 321); al-Kalābādhī once (*Ta'arruf*, 117); and al-Qushayrī four times (*Risāla*, 131, 273, 323, 365). Cf. *Vision*, 251; Massignon, *Essai*, 158.

² This seems to correspond to what the author states at the beginning of this section, concerning God who 'shed light (*qadhafa*)' into the self (see [1] and its footnote).

³ In the Qur'anic sense, *ẓann* signifies unreliable 'subjective thinking' based on 'something groundless' (*God and Man*, 59-62; the citation is from 59). According to Izutsu, this concept is opposed to *ʿilm*, which is connected with the truth (*ḥaqq*), while *ẓann* is related to desire (*hawā*) (*ibid.*, 61). *Ẓann* is also linked with *shirk* and *kufr* (see [62]), as the Qur'ān associates *shirk* with 'the working of the mental faculty of *ẓann*' (*Concepts*, 132).

⁴ He is one of the figures most frequently cited in the *Qūt*, together with his son, Ibn 'Umar (see Ch. 3.1.2).

⁵ 4:122, 8:29.

⁶ 65:2, 65:3.

[75] The author goes on to discuss the importance of righteous action based on proper knowledge. A Qur'anic verse is cited:

*«As for those who strive in Us, We surely guide them to Our paths».*¹

It is stressed that first of all believers have to make an effort to be on the right path to God. God will then guide them and make them holders of true knowledge. Believers should also keep themselves away from worldly people. It is stated that God has sent various people to instruct and inspire humans.² [76] The author quotes a Tradition in this regard:

<Upon the one who has acted in accordance with what he knows, bestows God Most High the knowledge of what he did not know, and gives him success in proportion to what he acts. He will then be entitled to [enter] Paradise. On the other hand, the one, who has not acted in accordance with what he knows, loses his way because of what he knows. [God] will not give [him] success in proportion to what he acts; then he will be entitled to [enter] Hell>.

[77] The author interprets the meaning of 'the knowledge of what he did not know' as gnosis, which results from actions of the heart. True believers are given this special knowledge and are able to make sensible decisions through it. This is the knowledge of, for instance,

the difference between examination and selection, trial and choice, reward and punishment, realisation of deficiency and [that of] excess, receiving and offering, untying and tying, gathering and separating and so on.

[78] The author stresses that if believers act in accordance with even one-tenth of what they know, God will give them what they did not know. According to the author, Ḥudhayfa said:

Today you are in a period [when] one neglects one-tenth of what he knows; then he will be damned. After you, [there comes] a period

¹ 29:69.

² I.e. Messengers, Prophets, Saints and virtuous people.

[when] one acts in accordance with one-tenth of what he knows; then he will be rescued.

Another saying:

Every time a servant intensifies [his] worship and endeavour, (p. 337) the heart heightens [its] ability and vigour. Every time a servant becomes weary and languid, the heart increases [its] weakness and feebleness.

[79] The author moves on to discuss the limitations of reason. It is stated that ‘various kinds of rational knowledge are created beings’, and religious certainty does not appear directly from speculation. According to the author, rational thinking itself has its place and it is still recommended to believers. [80] The author lays stress on the point that the impulse of religious certainty appears only through certain sight (*‘ayn al-yaqīn*)¹, which can verify hidden meanings. Religious certainty arrives after believers seek it persistently and achieve total realisation of Divine reality. According to the author, certainty comes rather ‘unexpectedly and surprisingly’. It does not come to those who seek for God merely by custom, who take only a rational approach, or who concern themselves in worldly matters.

[81] The author goes on to discuss characteristics of those possessing gnosis. Hidden knowledge is revealed to them directly through certain sight. The importance of complete devotion to God and remembrance of Him is highlighted. The author also stresses the point that true believers are ‘guided and prompted’ by God. A Tradition is quoted:

¹ According to al-Sarrāj, the Qur’ān mentions three types of religious certainty: *‘ilm al-yaqīn*, *‘ayn al-yaqīn* and *ḥaqq al-yaqīn* (*Luma’*, 70). Hujwīrī explains these three concepts as follows: *‘ilm al-yaqīn* is the knowledge of the *‘ulamā’*, who observe religious practice in this world; *‘ayn al-yaqīn* is the knowledge of gnostics, who have sure knowledge about departure from this world; *ḥaqq al-yaqīn* is the knowledge of those who reject all created beings (*Kashf*, 381-2). Cf. *Risāla*, 75. (See [84].)

<Follow the antecedent of those who have been withdrawn from mankind (*mufarradūn*) – with *fathā* –, as well as those who have withdrawn from mankind (*mufarridūn*) – with *kasr* –.¹ They are the ones who withdraw themselves from the rest of mankind for God Most High, through what God Most High has set aside for them. It is just what He – may He be glorified – said [in] His saying: «*Guarding in secret that which God hath guarded*».² [The Messenger?] was asked: Who are those who withdraw from mankind? He said: Those who devote themselves to remembrance of God. The remembrance eases their heavy burdens, and they will come to the Last Judgment with lightened load>.

[82] The author reiterates the point that it is God who decides. It is stated that when God wills to separate those who withdrew from humankind from the rest of humans, the knowledge of *tawhīd* appears in their heart.

[God] then remembered them and remembrance of Him overpowered them. His light – the Most High – obliterated their hearts, and then their remembrance became incorporated into His remembrance. He is indeed the Rememberer for them, while they are the place for the streams of His omnipotence – may He be praised and glorified –. The amount of this remembrance [can]not be weighed and the quality of this devoutness [can]not be calculated. If the skies and the earth were put in a scale of a balance, His remembrance – the Most High – for them would weigh more than [the skies and the earth].

[83] The author narrates a saying of God concerning those who withdrew from humankind:

<Do you then see the one whom I met face to face, the one who knows anything I wished to bestow upon him? If the skies and the earth were under their rules, I would be truly proud of³ [the skies and the earth] for them. The moment when I cast (p. 338) My light⁴ into their hearts, they become fully acquainted with Me, as I was fully acquainted with them>.

[84] The author stresses that ordinary humans cannot see the reality of the stage of

¹ فَرَدَ : to apply oneself to the study of practical religion and withdraw from mankind and attend only to the observance of the commands and prohibitions of religion (Lane, 2.2363). Cf. 'Abgesonderten (*mufarradūn*)' and 'Absondernden (*mufarridūn*)' (*Nahrung*, 1.393). The 'Ilm has a chapter on *tawhīd* and *tafrīd* (Ch. 4: 84-112). The editor, 'Aṭā', explains the term *farrada* in the same way as Lane defines it, and states that it also signifies annihilation in the unity with God (*ibid.*, 84 n. 1).

² 4:34.

³ استغفل : s'énorgueillir (Kazimirski, 2.794). Cf. '[ich] würde sie für zu wenig ... erachten' (*Nahrung*, 1.393).

⁴ Literally: the moment when I bestowed upon them casting My light.

true believers.

Their quest is not recognised; their share is not shaped; their aim is, in its utmost degree, not described; their gift is not created being; and their spiritual vision is the mark of verification through certain sight (*ʿayn al-yaqīn*), [which leads them] to true religious certainty (*ḥaqq al-yaqīn*). The prime share of their aim is the knowledge of absolute certainty (*ʿilm al-yaqīn*). This is the pure gnosis through God Most High.¹

It is stated that religious certainty is the highest stage of belief. This is Divine bliss, which enables true believers to see the real nature of *tawḥīd*.

[85] The author gives an explanation of *tawḥīd*. Omnipresence of God is underlined. According to the author, believers should recognise Divine *tawḥīd* in everything. The knowledge of *tawḥīd* has no end *per se*; however, there is a limit to the knowledge of believers.

What [lies] behind [their limits] is eternity, no other substitute, no end. A servant reaches the spiritual vision of the knowledge of *tawḥīd* only through the knowledge of gnosis. And this is the light of religious certainty. The light of certainty is not given unless the limbs are moved (*tamkhuḍ*) with the right actions, as the skin of milk is churned (*yumkhaḍ*)² until cream appears. [This cream] is religious certainty.

[86] The author expands this metaphor. According to the author, religious certainty (cream) is ‘not the aim of seekers’, since this is still not in its purest state. Cream has to be melted away and when all fat is removed from it, this cream finally becomes the cream of cream. This is certain sight, which appears after seeing the ‘vision of the Face’ in a mirror of the heart in close proximity. As in the case of cream, the knowledge of the impulses has to be melted away. When the intention and presence of a believer become united with God, he ascends his stages and Divine light shines in the heart of the believer. This is the station of goodness (*iḥsān*).

¹ See the footnote to [80].

² مخض : to churn milk, shake or agitate something vehemently (Lane, 2.2693).

«*God is with the good*»¹ after their striving against themselves in Him² and [their selves'] sale of possessions (p. 339) to Him. He then does favours to them by buying [the possessions] from them. He is with them, as He said: «*He will reward them for their attribution*».³ They are good, because the Good is with them. Likewise, they are the highest, as the Highest is with them. He indeed said: («*So do not falter and cry out for peace*».⁴ It means: Do not be weak and ask for reconciliation from enemies), [as] «*Ye (will be) the uppermost, and God is with you*».⁵

[87] Another *ḥadīth* of the Prophet is cited concerning devotional service to God.

[88] The author gives an explanation of the procedure for striving for God.

First believers should make an effort to have right conduct of the body. Through this external striving, they realise what they should be conscious of internally. [89] The author stresses the point that after sincere repentance (*tawba*), believers enter into the 'states of novices'. They should then strive against the self and the enemy, until they reach the impulse of religious certainty. According to the author,

«*As for those who strive in Us*»⁶ means: [against] their selves and their possessions. They strive against their enemy, as he promises them poverty and bids them to be abominable.⁷

After conquering blameworthy impulses and freeing themselves from the shackles of worldly desires, God will lead them to Him.

«*We surely guide them to Our paths*»⁸ means [that] 'We surely make a way for them to the revelations of various types of knowledge'; 'We surely let them hear the marvels of understandings'; 'We surely lead them to the closest ways to Us through their excellent strivings in Us'. Then He closed the order with His word – the Most High –: «*God is*

¹ 29:69.

² Cf. The previous part of 29:69 is: «*As for those who strive in us, We surely guide them to Our paths*».

³ 6:139.

⁴ 47:35

⁵ Same as above. It continues as: «*And He will not grudge (the reward of) your actions*».

⁶ 29:69.

⁷ يعدهم الفقر ويأمرهم بالفحشاء : cf. 2:268 «*The devil promiseth you destitution and enjoineth on you lewdness (يعدكم الفقر ويأمركم بالفحشاء)*. But God promiseth you forgiveness from Himself with bounty. God is All-Embracing, All-Knowing».

⁸ 29:69.

*with the good».*¹

[90] According to the author, this is the ‘station of the spiritual vision’ of Divine qualities. It is stated that in this station, God gives them guidance², which leads to Him. The believers then endure affliction³, but God strengthens⁴ them to overcome it.

[91] The author moves on to describe the characteristics of the heart. A *ḥadīth* of the Prophet is cited on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī:

<Knowledge has two types. Internal knowledge is in the heart, and this is the beneficial [one]>.

[92] Concerning the close connection between God and the heart, the author quotes a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, who interpreted a Qur’anic verse⁵ and said: (p. 340)

When the light [of God] is cast into the heart, the chest will be widened for Him and opened.

[93] Another saying is quoted in this regard:

I have a heart. If I disobey it, I would disobey God Most High.

The author states that the heart is the messenger who can reach God. Two Traditions are cited to highlight the quality of the heart:

<Belief is what stays in the heart and the action confirms it>;
<The believer sees through the light of God. One who sees through the light of God has insight into God Most High, and whose action is obedient to God Most High through His light>.

[94] Another saying is quoted:

For twenty years, my heart did not have faith in my self for an instant, as I did not live together with [the heart] for one moment.

[95] The author goes on to discuss internal knowledge. He refers to a saying

¹ 29:69.

² توفيق ; وفق : to direct to the right course by inspiration to that which is good (of God) (Lane, 2.3057).

³ صبر : to endure trial or affliction with good manners and maintain constancy with God (*ibid.*, 2.1643).

⁴ يأييد ; أيد : to strengthen, render victorious (*ibid.*, 1.136).

⁵ 6:126.

of those possessing knowledge, who were asked about the nature of internal knowledge and replied as follows:

A secret from the secret of God Most High. He casts it into the hearts of His dearest ones. He has told neither angel nor mankind about it.

[96] The author quotes a Tradition of the Prophet concerning the marvels of knowledge, which are in gnosis of God. The significance of the Qurʾān is highlighted, as the Prophet says:

<Read the Qurʾān and seek its marvels>.

The author interprets the ‘marvels’ as the innermost meanings of the Qurʾān, as God’s close associates (*awliyāʾ*) obtained His gnosis through His words. [97] The author confirms the value of the Qurʾān by quoting a saying of Ibn Masʿūd:

One who wants the knowledge of the past and present¹ should examine² the Qurʾān.

[98] The author reiterates the significance of understanding of the Qurʾān and goes on to highlight the importance of carrying out duties in this world following the revealed law. An interpretation of a Qurʾanic verse, «*Lo! God enjoineth justice and kindness*»,³ is introduced:

‘Justice’ is to contemplate the Qurʾān and to understand it. ‘Kindness’ is to witness the understanding.

[99] The author states that ‘Alī’s saying confirms this commentary. According to the author, ‘Alī says:

Belief is [based] upon four foundations: upon (p. 341) patience (*ṣabr*), religious certainty (*yaqīn*), justice (*ʿadl*) and striving (*jihād*). He then said: Justice is [based] upon four divisions: diving into understanding, brilliant knowledge, trained discernment and the legal rule. [100] The one who understands [can] interpret the whole body of knowledge; the one who knows is aware of the legal rule; and the one who is discerning

¹ الأولون والآخرين : les anciens et les modernes (Kazimirski, 1.70).

² تَوَرَّ : scruter (un passage du Coran) (*ibid.*, 1.241).

³ 16:90.

would not exaggerate his business and live among the people harmlessly.

[101] The author keeps emphasising the importance of fulfilling religious duties. A saying is quoted in this regard. It is stated that even angels do not know what is revealed from the Hidden to those possessing ‘spiritual vision of *tawhīd*’. The author stresses that completing duties according to the revealed law is the key to reaching this stage.

[102] The author narrates a story concerning the superiority of the heart to recording angels in terms of religious knowledge.

I asked some of the righteous persons (*abdāl*)¹ about a matter of the spiritual vision of certainty. He turned to his left and asked: What would you say, may God have mercy upon you? Then he turned to his right and asked: What would you say, may God have mercy upon you? Then he bowed his head to his chest and asked: What would you say, may God have mercy upon you? Then he replied to me with the strangest answer which I had ever heard. And I exalted him. [103] I said: I saw you turn from your left and your right, and then you approached your chest. What [is this about]? [104] He said: You asked me about a matter [of which] I did not have knowledge at hand. So I turned to the left recording angel and asked him about it, as I thought that he had knowledge of it. But he said: I do not know. I then asked the right recording angel, as he is more knowledgeable than [the left recording angel], but he said: I do not know. I then looked at my heart and asked it. It told me what I answered you. Hence, it is more knowledgeable than they are.

[105] According to the author, Abū Yazīd² and others used to say that religious knowledge does not mean memorising the whole Qur’ān. Memory is

¹ أبدال : the substitutes and successors of the prophets, certain righteous persons of whom the world is never destitute; when one dies, God substituting another in his place (Lane, 1.168). Al-Sarrāj uses the term *budalāʿ* interchangeably with *awliyāʿ* (*Lumaʿ*, 177 [Arabic]). See also *Kashf*, 212-4; *Risāla*, 362 n. 2. Knysh explains the term as ‘members of the highest rank of the Sufi spiritual hierarchy; they were called so for their ability to maintain their presence in several different places at the same time’ (*Epistle*, 417). Cf. ‘Abdāl’ (*Nahrung*, 1.397).

² Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874 or 264/877-8): one of the most famous Persian mystics. Together with al-Ḥallāj, they are known for their spiritual intoxication. Al-Bisṭāmī did not leave any writing himself; however, a large amount of his sayings have been handed down. One of his *shaṭaḥāt* (ecstatic utterances), ‘Glory be to me; how great is My majesty (*subḥānī*; *mā aʿz ama shaʿnī*)’, is as famous as al-Ḥallāj’s ‘I am the Truth (*ana al-ḥaq*)’.

unreliable, since ‘if one forgets what he has memorised, he will become ignorant’.

On the contrary, stresses the author, the one possessing knowledge is the one who obtains his knowledge directly from God.

[106] Upon my life! This one does not forget his knowledge. He remembers [it] forever. He does not need a book, as he possesses his knowledge from being a faithful servant of the Lord (*al-ʿālim al-rabbānī*)¹. This is the characteristic of the hearts of the righteous persons (*abdāl*), such as those possessing religious certainty.

(p. 342) [107] The author values direct knowledge from God. According to a

Tradition of the Prophet:

<In my *umma*, [there are] those who have been talked to² and spoken to [by God]. ‘Umar [b. Khaṭṭāb] is indeed one of them>.

According to the author, Ibn ‘Abbās interprets a Qur’anic verse³ and states that apart from Messengers and Prophets, righteous believers are those who are spoken to by God. [108] The author stresses that this was the ‘path of the predecessors among the Companions’, who were directed and inspired rightly. It is emphasised that direct knowledge of God appears through spiritual vision of the heart, which is prompted

¹ العالم الرباني seems to be one of the *rabbānīyūn* in the Qur’ān: «It is not (possible) for any human being unto whom God had given the Scripture and wisdom and the Prophethood that he should afterwards have said unto mankind: Be slaves of me instead of God; but (what he said was): Be ye faithful servants of the Lord (*rabbānīyūn*) by virtue of your constant teaching of the Scripture and of your constant study thereof» (3:79) (this verse refers to Christians who teach the divine aspect of Jesus). Al-Qushayrī interprets *rabbānīyūn* as those who possess knowledge by God, reflect upon Him, eradicate themselves and acknowledge God alone, and are not affected by appearance and listen to their heart (*Tafsīr al-Qushayrī*, 1.241-2). According to Lane, this term denotes ‘one who devotes himself to religious services, who possesses a knowledge of God; a master of knowledge; a worshipper of the Lord’ (1.1006). Izutsu explains that being a Muslim means standing ‘submissive as a “servant” (*ʿabd*) before God who is his Lord (*rabb*) and Master’ (*God and Man*, 201). This stark contrast between God and His servants is emphasised elsewhere in the *Qūt* (e.g. [120]), which also highlights the importance of the examination of the Qur’ān (e.g. [96]-[98]). *Rabbānīyūn* also appears in the *ʿIlm* (*ʿIlm*, 47). On the whole, *al-ʿālim al-rabbānī* here appears to mean a faithful worshipper of the Lord who possesses the knowledge of servitude before God. Cf. ‘der göttliche Gelehrte’ (*Nahrung*, 1.397).

² محدثون ; محدث : a true, veracious man who talks conjecturally and with sagacity, as though he were told a thing, and said it (Lane, 1.529). Cf. ‘Angesprochene (*muḥaddaṭūn*)’ (*Nahrung*, 1.397).

³ 22:52 (*al-Raḍwānī* does not indicate this as a Qur’anic verse).

by the impulse of religious certainty. The author underlines the point that the arrival of internal sight is subtle and its significance is obscure to others.

[109] The author reiterates the distinguished qualities of those possessing religious certainty, God-fearingness and true knowledge. Six Qurʾanic verses are quoted in this regard.¹ [110] According to the author, the knowledge that is inspired by God-fearingness and religious certainty is the ‘knowledge of special gnosis’. This knowledge appears to those who are close to God. A Qurʾanic verse is cited in this regard.²

The author highlights the close connection between the heart and God. According to the author, the heart is the treasury of God, because the heart can understand His signs.

«When God’s are the treasures of the heavens and the earth; but the hypocrites comprehend (yafqahūn) not».³ [111] (p. 343) Comprehension (*fiqh*) is a quality for the heart, not for the tongue. The Arabs, you say ‘I comprehended (*faqih*)’, in the meaning of ‘I understood (*fahimtu*)’. Ibn ‘Abbās explains the words of God – may He be praised and glorified –, «Having hearts wherewith they understand (yafqahūn) not»,⁴ and says: They do not understand (*yafhamūna*) with [hearts]. [Ibn ‘Abbās] thinks ‘comprehension (*fiqh*)’ to be ‘understanding (*fahm*)’.

[112] The author refers to the six impulses⁵ and their relationship with the heart.

The impulses of religious certainty, the soul and the angel belong to the treasuries of God, while the impulses of reason, the self and the enemy belong to the treasuries of the earth.

A saying is quoted to support this statement:

¹ 2:118, 45:20, 10:7, 3:138, 29:49, 6:98.

² 5:44.

³ 63:7.

⁴ 7:179. This verse continues as: «And having eyes wherewith they see not, and having ears wherewith they hear not ...».

⁵ See [21]-[28].

The self is earthy. It is made from the earth, so it is inclined to the earth.
The soul is holy. It is made from the Kingdom, so it is pleased with the
Sublime.

[113] The heart is ‘a treasury of the treasures of the Kingdom’. It is ‘likened to the mirror’, which reflects treasures of the Hidden. The author explains that these six impulses take place in the heart and he discusses four types of its perception. According to the author, the heart has hearing, which is understanding (*fahm*); the seeing of the heart is observation (*naẓar*) and spiritual vision (*mushāhada*); the tongue of the heart is speaking (*kalām*) and taste (*dhawq*); and smelling of the heart is knowledge (*‘ilm*) and contemplation (*fīkr*).

The author stresses that all humans have to improve their inborn reason (*al-‘aql al-gharīzī*). This enables them to operate the senses of the heart, so that Divine light ‘penetrates its pericardium and reaches its deepest folds’. This is the direct contact with God, which is called ‘ecstatic encounter (*wajd*)’¹. This is a ‘state on the basis of the station of spiritual vision’. Concerning this, a Tradition of the Prophet is quoted:

<I beg You for belief [which] touches my heart directly>.

[114] The author cites two sayings to support his statement:

If belief stays on the exterior of the heart, the servant is in love with the hereafter as well as this world; he is one time with God Most High and

¹ Various authors explain *wajd* in different ways; e.g. al-Kalābādhī states that it is ‘what the heart encounters’, which could be ‘fright’ or ‘grief’ or an ‘unveiling state between the servant and God’, and he quotes: ‘It is the hearing of hearts and their sight’ (*Ta’arruf*, 112). Al-Qushayrī explains the term in a similar way and emphasises the unintentional quality of this experience. He compares *wajd* with *tawājud*, which is deliberate ecstatic behaviour, and *wujūd*, which comes after the stage of *wajd*. According to him, *tawājud* comes first, then *wajd* and then *wujūd*, which is the true finding of God through direct contact with Him (*Risāla*, 61-4). Hujwīrī also has a section on these three stages (*Kashf*, 413-6), and al-Sarrāj has a chapter on *wajd*, where he explains them (*Luma’*, 300-14 [Arabic]). Knysh translates *wajd* as ‘ecstatic rapture’ (*Epistle*, 83), Arberry ‘ecstasy’ (*Doctrine*, 106), and Böwering ‘ecstatic experience’ (*Vision*, 72). Cf. ‘ekstatisches Erleben’ (*Nahrung*, 1.398).

another time with his self. If belief enters to the interior of the heart, the servant hates this world and renounces his desire. [115] Our [master] who possesses knowledge, Abū Muḥammad Sahl – may God have mercy upon him –, said: The heart has two hollows. One of them is inside. It comprises hearing and seeing; and this could be called the heart of the heart. Another hollow is outside of the heart, and it comprises reason.

[116] The author calls attention to the point that humans have the choice of how they operate each impulse. Among the six impulses, the author highlights the double-edged quality of reason.¹ [117] The author reiterates that if these impulses are operated as a guide for the heart, they are with the angel and the soul, which lead to ‘God-fearingness, (p. 344) right guidance and right way’. They relate to the ‘treasuries of the Excellent, and the keys to the Mercy’. These impulses cast light into the heart and the right recording angels acknowledge them as good deeds. [118] On the other hand, if the impulses are operated as a tempter, they are with the enemy and the self. They are ‘immoral and astray from the right path’, and they belong to the ‘treasuries of evil and the locks² of honours’. These impulses blacken the heart and the left recording angels write them down as misdeeds.

[119] The author emphasises the omnipotence of God. According to the author, all these impulses are ‘inspiration’³, cast from the ‘Fashioner’⁴ of the self and the ‘Turner’⁵ of the heart. This inspiration is cast by Him with His ‘justice to those whom He wills, and [His] grace and kindness to those whom He loves’. The author

¹ See [23]-[27].

² مغالق : locks, bolts (Steingass, 1278). Cf. ‘Aufhänger’ (*Nahrung*, 1.399).

³ الإلهام واللقاء : this statement corresponds to the beginning of this chapter, see [1], its notes and Q. 91:7-8.

⁴ See Q. 82:6-7 which appear in [17].

⁵ See [20] and its note.

quotes a Qurʾanic verse¹ and states that God guides humans and gives them reward, but, at the same time, He causes them to stray and gives them punishment. A Qurʾanic verse is cited:

*«He will not be questioned as to that which He doeth, but they will be questioned».*²

God controls everything. He is the ‘omnipotent, powerful and almighty King’, and He ‘stays away from direct [contact with] matters’.³ When God wants a thing, He just simply says ‘Be’.⁴ Then it exists.

[120] The author continues to emphasise the point that God ‘possesses power over everything’ as stated in the Qurʾān.⁵ On the contrary, ‘a servant is weak, feeble and ignorant; he has no power over anything’. The author insists that the nature of this world is a test. It is stated that God ‘drops a veil’ on humans in order to assess them.

[121] The First – praise be to Him and the Most High –, He is [the one who] tests, wills, brings forth and brings back. He makes you what you do not know⁶ and *«He might test the believers by a fair test from Him»*.⁷

Believers understand what God enables them to understand. The author stresses differences in their understanding, according to the level of an individual’s spiritual vision. [122] Believers also differ in the degree of realisation of the signs of

¹ 6:115.

² 21:23.

³ This statement echoes an argument of Islamic philosophers as to whether God can know particulars, which al-Ghazālī famously rebuts in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (8th problem, 223-38; cf. e.g. Leaman, *Islamic Philosophy*, 108-20). In [121], al-Makkī designates God as ‘the First’, which also echoes a terminology often used among Islamic philosophers. (Although I could not ascertain how often al-Makkī uses this term for God in the *Qūt*, [121] is the only place where ‘the First’ appears in this summarised translation.)

⁴ إذا أراد شيئاً قال له كن : cf. 36:81 *«But His command, when He intendeth a thing, is only that he saith unto it: Be! and it is»* (إذا أراد شيئاً أن يقول له كن فيكون). (See [128].)

⁵ 23:88 (al-Raḍwānī does not indicate this as a Qurʾanic verse).

⁶ Cf. 56:61 *«That We may transfigure you and make you what ye know not»*.

⁷ 8:17.

God. It is emphasised that God always tests humans. According to the author, when God wills to reveal a thing from the hidden treasures, He prompts the self in order to put a test on humans. The self is then roused and acts as evil aspiration (*himmat sū*)¹ in the heart. Then the enemy notices the heart.

He is a watcher. He examines closely. Hearts are extended for him and selves are spread out in front of him, [so that] he sees what is in them.

According to the author, the enemy was ‘put to a test’ (p. 345) by God and given freedom in this regard.² If the enemy sees inner aspiration impairing the self and blackening the heart, his control becomes stronger.

[123] Every heart has the Devil. However, the author lays emphasis on the point that this enemy can be controlled by good or evil conduct of the heart. This is a test from God and humans have choice. There are two types of spiritual drive. The author first elucidates evil spiritual aspiration (*himma*). This is based on three qualities. One of them is desire (*hawā*), which is part of the self. The second is longing (*umniyya*), which results from inborn ignorance. The third is making false claims (*daʿwā*)³, which is caused by damaged reason and attachment to this world.

¹ Sahl al-Tustarī explains the verse, «and eased thee of the burden» (94:2), as ‘We withdrew from you the confident abandonment to other than Us ... which is due to the inner drive (*himma*) of the natural self’ (*Vision*, 158). However, *himma* does not seem to be evil *per se*, as Hujwīrī states that ‘conceit really springs from the suspiciousness ... of the intellect, which is produced by the insatiable desire ... of the lower soul; and holy aspiration (*himma*) has nothing in common with either of these qualities’ (*Kashf*, 155). Danner translates this term as ‘decisive force, spiritual aspiration; fervor’ (Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, *Aphorism*, 74). As Böwering sometimes renders it as ‘spiritual striving’, ‘spiritual drive’, ‘intention’ (*Vision*, 235, 238, 255), *himma* seems to designate inner power, which makes the believer aim at something. Al-Makkī discusses both evil *himma* ([123]-[125]) and good *himma* ([129]-[130]). Cf. ‘Streben’ (*Nahrung*, 1.400).

² Cf. *Satan*, 96.

³ دعوى : a claim, a demand (Lane, 1.884); prétention, assertion, réclamation (Kazimirski, 1.706). Al-Sarrāj explains *daʿwā* as one of the Sufī terminologies, meaning something connected to the lower self, like a veil between the believer and God (*Lumaʿ*, 352 [Arabic]). Hujwīrī quotes Dhu’l-Nūn and gives a warning against *daʿwā* (‘pretension’ as translated by Nicholson): ‘Beware lest thou make pretensions to gnosis’ ... ‘The gnostics pretend to knowledge, but I avow

[124] The author states that any of these three factors impairs the heart, if believers yield to these temptations of the enemy. They stem from either ‘ignorance (*jahl*), negligence (*ghafla*) or pursuit of subordinate matters of this world (*ṭalab fuḍūl dunyā*)’. The author warns believers not to be concerned with them.

[125] In order to nullify the effect of evil aspiration, the author advocates ‘striving against the self’ and ‘controlling the limbs’. If temptations appear as forbidden matters, according to the author, it is a believer’s duty to resist them, as they are ‘a veil between his heart and religious certainty’. If temptations appear as permissible matters, the author recommends the reader to ‘banish them from his heart’. The author stresses that the essential nature of the existence of temptations is a trial from God. It is stated that this is the reason God created ‘the self, the soul, death and life’. God created difficulty in assessing human behaviour and caused temptation ‘as an embellishment’ in order to check whether humans can resist it.¹ A Qur’anic verse is quoted: «*He may see how ye behave*».²

[126] The author insists that, first of all, a believer has to make an effort to control the situation and not to let ‘the enemy overpower him’ or ‘the self tempt him’. After this, if God wills, he will be able to ‘see the heart at the time of [God’s] trial’

ignorance: that is my knowledge’ (*Kashf*, 274). In a similar negative tone, Izutsu describes the link between *daʿwā* and lack of rational thinking in *kalām*. He quotes Ibn Ḥazm and states: ‘any thesis that is not based upon ... a logical proof is merely a “claim” (*daʿwā*)’, which cannot produce belief in the heart (*Theology*, 125). From al-Makkī’s description of this concept as ‘the damage of reason and the attachment of the heart’, *daʿwā* here seems to imply both Sufi and *kalām* arguments. Cf. ‘Forderung’ (*Nahrung*, 1.400).

¹ Cf. 18:7, «*Lo! We have placed all that is in the earth as an ornament thereof that we may try them: which of them is best in conduct*».

² 7:129.

and 'guide the self with the light of his belief in God Most High'. The author highlights the importance of total obedience to God. God-fearingness leads a believer to escape from the enemy. God will then save him.

God Most High gives the heart observation (*nazra*), [which] abates the self, effaces inner aspiration, shrinks the enemy by [making him] fall from his place, and eliminates the affliction, [which was under] his control, by removing him. The heart then becomes clear from the influence [of the enemy] through the light of the luminous lamp, (p. 346) and becomes active¹ by the release [from the control of the enemy] through power of the Subduer, the Almighty. The servant becomes afraid of standing before the Lord,² because of the clearness of the heart [which can] see the Lord – the Most High –, and becomes scared of sin. He then flees or asks pardon for [sin], and repents. The sign of his God-fearingness gains control over him.

[127] On the contrary, if believers let themselves fall into the hand of evil, and God wants them to be lost, the enemy takes over the heart. Reason then works with the self. According to the author, desire widens the chest, where the enemy expands his place with 'his pretence, his deception, his aspirations and his promise'.

The power of belief then becomes weak because of the dominating power of the enemy and the concealed light of religious certainty. Desire triumphs because of the power of lust, and lust ruins³ knowledge and clarity. Shame disappears and belief becomes hidden by lust. Disobedience then appears through the triumph of desire and disappearance of shame.

[128] The author states that these two examples⁴ show an image of the appearance of 'good and evil', and 'obedience and disobedience'. According to the author, by aiming at God only, all different parts of a believer become one part.⁵ As

¹ Or 'becomes polished'. ملس : to go quickly, be light or active (Lane, 2.2735); être lisse, poli, satiné (Kazimirski, 2.1147). Cf. 'gereinigt' (*Nahrung*, 1.401).

² من خاف مقام : cf. 55:46 «But for him who feareth the standing before his Lord (من خاف مقام) there are two gardens»; 79:40-1 «But as for him who feared to stand before his Lord (من خاف مقام) and restrained his soul from lust, Lo! the Garden will be his home».

³ Literally: burns, destroys by fire.

⁴ [126] and [127].

⁵ Al-Rābi'a says: 'God has to be the only goal for the lover who not only loves Him with his heart but all of whose limbs are hearts pointing to' Him (*Dimensions*, 78). Similarly, al-Makkī

God said, «*Be! and he is*»,¹ this happens ‘as quick as lightning’, once a believers lets His ‘power triumph over [his] will’.

[129] If God wishes to reveal good, He prompts the soul through inspiration of God-fearingness. Light glows from the essence of the soul and ‘shines in the heart’. [130] The author now moves on to elucidate good spiritual aspiration (*himmat al-khayr*).² It comes from three major causes: rapidity (*musāriʿa*) of obedience to the order of God as duty, commitment (*nadb*) to His grace, and knowledge (*ʿilm*) or realisation of His reality. According to the author, true knowledge is revealed to believers through ‘manifestation of the Hidden’. Among permissible matters on the earth, it is emphasised that believers must think what is good for them by themselves. [131] (p. 347) The author stresses once more that humans have a choice of what they worship and whether they follow Divine command.

[132] From here the author starts summarising the main arguments of this section. First, the nature of testing in this world is highlighted. It is stated that there is always choice between good and evil, which is described as ‘the companion of the angel and the companion of the enemy’,³ ‘the inspiration of God-fearingness and the inspiration of immorality’,⁴ and ‘will and temptation’. [133] The way in which believers see God accords with how much they realise the differences between good

here seems to emphasise that believers must devote themselves to God both externally and internally. Absolute submission to God can be achieved only after they coordinate the heart and the bodily members properly, and make all of them aim at Him only.

¹ 3:59. The previous part of this verse is, «*He created him of dust, then He said unto him: Be! and he is*». Cf. Genesis 1:3, ‘And God said, Let there be light: and there was light’ (King James).

² Cf. [123]-[125] for a description of evil inner aspiration.

³ Cf. [7].

⁴ Cf. Q. 91:7-8 which appear in [1].

and evil. God bestows awareness upon believers through good and evil, and ‘opens the gate of intimacy (*uns*) and longing (*shawq*)’¹ for them.

[134] The author emphasises that worshippers vary in their level of spiritual vision and religious certainty. This depends on the degree of their understanding of the meaning of good and evil, which the author summarises as follows:

The roots of the meanings of good and their centres are inspiration of the angel, casting into the soul and shedding lights into the books of belief and their sections of the hereafter. [This is] the knowledge of what was ordered by Him or [what] was designated for Him, and the permissible. The roots of the meanings of evil are their opposite. Their centres are the self and the enemy. Their causes are lust and desire. They appear from ignorance. They drop a veil and produce obstacles.

[135] The author puts emphasis on the point that it is God who activates the soul. When the soul starts to shine in the heart, an angel will look at it and see ‘what God Most High founded in it’. It is stated that the case with the enemy is opposite to this. The connection between the enemy and the self is repeated.

[136] The author finally shows a stark contrast between what believers should follow and what they should not follow.

The angel is moulded to guide and is disposed by nature for the love of obedience. Likewise, the enemy is moulded to seduce and is disposed by nature to love of disobedience.

The angel casts inspiration into the heart. This produces the six impulses,² which prompt believers in various ways. The author insists that believers then have to improve their heart by God-fearingness and proper conduct. According to the author, ‘the angel looks at religious certainty as the enemy looks at the self’. When absolute

¹ These two concepts are discussed by many authors. See, e.g. *Lumaʿ*, 63-5 (on the state of *shawq*), 65-7 (on the state of *uns*) [Arabic]; *Risāla*, 60-1 (on *hayba* and *uns*), 329-33 (on *shawq*).

² Cf. [21]-[28].

certainty is confirmed by the angel, reason becomes finally inclined to the will of God. Believers can then, for the first time, trust the self, as the heart is relaxed now by achieving absolute certainty and the appearance of true knowledge. The author ends this section as follows:

The power (p. 348) of absolute certainty will become strong through purity of faith. Darkness of desire will become included in the light of certainty, and the flame of lust will die down through the appearance of the light of belief. Belief is decorated with the embellishment of shame. Qualities of the self become weak because of the decline of lust, while the heart becomes strong through weakening of the self. Belief increases by the power of certainty and the appearance of the indication of knowledge. Then guidance overpowers through the utmost belief and the obscurity of shame. Obedience then appears due to the victory of the Truth, «*And God was predominant in his career, but most of mankind know not*».¹

A summary of the rest of Section 30

The summarised translation above comprises the main part of this section of the *Qūt*, and contains al-Makkī's detailed discussion of the characteristics of the heart. In the rest of Section 30, al-Makkī repeats his argument in various different ways.

First, al-Makkī emphasises the relation between the angel, inspiration (*ilhām*) and goodness, and that between the enemy, temptation and evil. The former resides in the soul, while the latter in the self.² Al-Makkī then highlights the close connection of the heart with the treasures of the Hidden,³ and condemns ignorance and desire.¹

¹ 12:21.

² *Qūt*, 1.348-50.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.351.

The six impulses are elucidated once more,² and the distinctive differences between the angel and the enemy are stressed.³

At the end of the section, al-Makkī gives special importance to the point that God tests the believer.⁴ Al-Makkī then quotes several Qurʾanic verses to finish Section 30, including: «...if God's will is to keep you astray. He is your Lord»⁵ and «And God's is the direction of the way, and some (roads) go not straight. And had He willed He would have led you all aright»⁶. These verses summarise al-Makkī's argument that in the end it is God who decides. In the face of inescapable fate (*jabariyya*), al-Makkī stresses, God's servants must realise their own actual status. They will then be aware of their duties and strive to be obedient to God, because they now see the only way they can take is the complete surrender of themselves to the power of God.⁷

4.3 THE IDEA OF THE HEART IN SECTION 30 OF THE *QŪT*

Finally, this section attempts to sum up al-Makkī's spiritual teachings as set out in this chapter. It first evaluates the main points of Section 30 of the *Qūt*. Second, a brief comparison is made between al-Makkī's religious views on the heart and those of several other Muslim thinkers. Together with Chapter 3 of this thesis, on the

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.352-6.

² *Ibid.*, 1.356-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.358.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.360-1.

⁵ 11:34. From the previous verse: «Only God will bring it upon you if He will, and ye can by no means escape. My counsel will not profit you if I were minded to advise you, ...».

⁶ 16:9.

⁷ *Qūt*, 1.362.

historical background of the *Qūt*, an attempt is made to explore the essential features of al-Makkī's doctrine.

The main arguments of Section 30 of the *Qūt*

In Section 30 of the *Qūt*, al-Makkī elucidates the major characteristics of the heart through describing six impulses (*khawāṭir*). Among these, the impulse of the self (*nafs*) and the impulse of the enemy (*ʿadū*) are to be blamed and avoided,¹ while the impulse of the soul (*rūḥ*) and the impulse of the angel (*malak*) are to be praised and sought.² The impulse of reason (*ʿaql*) can be either good or bad, depending on how the believer uses it.³ The impulse of religious certainty (*yaqīn*) is the special impulse and the core of belief. It appears only by truth and is to be aspired to.⁴

Concerning the use of reason, al-Makkī emphasises that it is the believer's choice to use it or not. Divine reward or punishment is in accordance with the level of the proper operation of intellect.⁵ In other places, however, al-Makkī stresses that it is God's decision whose heart is to be guided to Him or led astray, highlighting the omnipotence of God.⁶ From this particular argument, it might appear that al-Makkī downgrades human free will. However, he condemns unquestioned acceptance of belief⁷ and keeps emphasising that this world is a test given by God. On the whole,

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.324 [21].

² *Ibid.*, [22].

³ *Ibid.*, [23]-[27].

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.325-6 [28].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.325 [25].

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.344 [121], 345-6 [126]-[127].

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.326 [30].

al-Makkī seems to argue on the basis of the idea that believers always have choice and that they are always tested. Every heart has the Devil, warns al-Makkī, but the Devil's activity can be controlled by good deeds of the heart. It is therefore important not to weaken the heart by ignorance, inattention and attachment to trivial matters in this world.¹

First of all, believers have to make an effort to be on the right path to God, and then He decides whether He will lead them to true knowledge.² In making this effort, believers should start by controlling their external actions.³ Al-Makkī, who never fails to emphasise the importance of outward conduct, states that one who possesses revealed knowledge of God should fully understand the meaning of the law. This person is discerning and can live in a praiseworthy way among people, without ostentation.⁴ From this statement, it may be deduced that al-Makkī might have been in disfavour with some mystics who did not see much importance in conforming to society.

External deeds have to be in accordance with the internal activity of the heart, since the heart has a special connection with God. It is the place where God resides on earth.⁵ As eyes see and ears hear, it is the heart which understands Divine quality. Belief is not words: it is what is firmly established in the heart. Al-Makkī stresses

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.344 [119], [120], [122], 345 [124], 347 [132].

² *Ibid.*, 1.336 [75]; cf. 1.345 [126].

³ *Ibid.*, 1.339 [88].

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.341 [100].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.333 [55], 334 [60].

throughout Section 30 that external action is a sign which indicates soundness of the heart.¹

The root of good is connected with the angel, the soul, the Qur'ān and *sunna*, and the knowledge of proper action in this world. The root of evil is, on the other hand, connected with the Devil, the self, lust, desire and ignorance of Divine guidance. These create a veil between the believer and God.² This is a test from God. The angel symbolises obedience and the right path to God, whereas the Devil represents disobedience and temptation. When religious certainty is achieved in the heart of the believer, lust and desire will disappear, and thus reason and the lower self will no longer be a hindrance. The utmost level of belief, stresses al-Makkī, is total obedience before the might of God. In order for the heart to point at God alone, believers simply have to let His power overcome them.³ These are al-Makkī's main arguments in Section 30 of the *Qūt*.

Religious images of the heart

Based upon the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and pious sayings, al-Makkī's views of the heart seem to be in the same line as those of the earlier figures seen in Chapter 3.1.1. Section 30 appears to show that there has been a development of the spiritual image of the heart by the time of al-Makkī. However, most of those above-mentioned Sufis do not appear in the translated section. It should be mentioned that al-Makkī does not even

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.340 [93], 343 [111].

² *Ibid.*, 1.347 [134].

³ *Ibid.*, 1.346 [128], 347 [136], 362.

refer to al-Muḥāsibī or al-Nūrī in this section, when one would assume that they are the authors most likely to be included on the matter of the heart.¹

For comparison, let us have a brief look at several religious authorities from al-Makkī's time and the following period. Among the writings on Sufism, for instance, al-Sarrāj states that religious law has both internal and external aspects: internal actions are the actions of hearts, and the science of interior actions (*ʿilm aʿmāl al-bāṭin*), Sufism, is in accordance with the interior part of the body, namely, the heart.² The metaphor for the heart is also used by Hujwīrī, who asserts that his book is composed for 'polishers of hearts'.³ Al-Qushayrī, in his explanation of Sufi terminologies, states that the heart and the soul (*rūḥ*) are the place for praiseworthy qualities, while the self (*nafs*) is for blameworthy ones.⁴ He goes on to say, in a section on *sirr*⁵, that, according to the Sufis, the *sirr* is more delicate (*aṭlaf*) than the soul, and the soul is more exalted (*ashraf*) than the heart.⁶

These authors do not have a separate section on the heart. From their overall argument, it seems that the spiritual image of the heart and its importance are already assumed and as a Sufi term it does not require further explanation. This might be because this metaphor is easily understood. In the light of this, it should be mentioned that al-Ghazālī included a section on the heart when he compiled the *Iḥyāʾ*.

¹ See the list of religious authorities who appear in the translated section, in Appendix IV.

² *Lumaʿ*, 23-4 [Arabic].

³ *Kashf*, 5.

⁴ *Risāla*, 87.

⁵ Innermost part, a secret. According to Lane, *sirr* means a thing that is concealed, a secret action, the recesses of the mind, the secret thoughts (1.1338).

⁶ *Risāla*, 88.

In Book 21, on the marvels of the heart (*‘ajā’ib al-qalb*), al-Ghazālī states that he will elucidate internal knowledge (*al-‘ilm al-bāṭin*) of the heart in this part of the book, after exploring external knowledge (*al-‘ilm al-zāhir*), which consists of acts of devotion (*‘ibādāt*) and the practices (*‘ādāt*) of the bodily members, in the first half of his work.¹

Shukri states that al-Makkī’s idea of the heart has to be understood against the wider background of the Sufi concept of the heart.² Al-Makkī’s view on this matter, however, seems to be in accordance with the treatment of the heart in the Qur’ān in general.³ According to the Qur’ān, Divine revelation was sent down verbally and directly only to the Prophet. At the same time, it is also stated that all mankind has the capacity to interpret Divine signs. Living among His created beings, what humans have to do is to operate their spiritual organ, the heart, properly. The Qur’ān affirms that the heart is made to understand the hidden meanings of its verses.⁴ This statement exactly echoes what we have seen in al-Makkī’s argument.

Due to this supreme position of the heart in the Qur’ān, various scholars in Islam highlight the significance of this organ. For instance, the Māturīdī school, which claimed that humans are capable of obtaining Divine knowledge as the

¹ *Iḥyā’*, 2.3. In addition to the similarity between the overall structure of the *Iḥyā’* and the *Qūt*, Book 21 of the former indeed greatly reflects Section 30 of the latter. Near-*verbatim* passages can be seen in, e.g. *Iḥyā’*, 2.9-10 and *Qūt*, 1.333-4 [55], [58]-[59]; *Iḥyā’*, 2.22-3 where al-Ghazālī seems to rearrange some passages of the *Qūt* from 1.339 [92], 334 [64], 335 [68], [67], 339 [91], 340 [95] and 342 [107] (in this order).

² Shukri, 149.

³ See the table of *āyāt* by Izutsu in Appendix V.

⁴ *God and man*, 137-8. See the third column of the table in Appendix V.

Muʿtazilites did, emphasise that the heart is the locus (*mawḍiʿ*) of belief.¹ The prominent Islamic scholar Ibn Taymiyya also attaches great importance to the heart as being the root of belief. He divides the actions of the heart from those of the body, and asserts that it is the heart which loves and fears God.²

As can be seen in the summarised translation, al-Makkī uses some terms which are claimed as Sufi terminology by, for instance, al-Sarrāj, al-Kalābādhī, Hujwīrī and al-Qushayrī.³ At the same time, Section 30 does not demonstrate al-Makkī's heavy reliance upon Sufi sayings. Considering that it concerns the most esoteric topic treated of in the *Qūt*, this section could have been more mystical. However, the term 'Sufi' does not even appear there. The annotated part confirms the suggestion that al-Makkī is a Qur'ān- and *ḥadīth*-minded author, and that his book does not have to be understood exclusively within the framework of Sufism.

¹ *EL*², s.v. 'al-Māturīdī', 'Māturīdiyya' (W. Madelung); *Theology*, 130-4.

² *Ibid.*, 74-5, 170, 173-4.

³ E.g. the key term of Section 30, *khawāṭir* or sing. *khāṭir*, does not appear in the Qur'ān (see the footnote of the title of Sec. 30). The term *mushāhada* does not appear either (see the footnote of [41]). These terms should be understood as used among Sufis.

CHAPTER 5:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF *ʿILM AL-QULŪB*

This chapter tackles the question of the authenticity of the *ʿIlm*. Although this issue has often been raised, it still seems to be unresolved. This chapter first discusses modern scholarship on this question, and goes on to study manuscripts, editions and the contents of the book. After looking at the *ʿIlm* itself, the last section compares the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* in respect of aim, structure, approach and religious authorities cited.

5.1 MODERN SCHOLARSHIP ON THE *ʿILM*

In 1964 ‘Aṭā’ published a modern edition of the *ʿIlm*. In his introduction, he analyses the problem of authenticity and concludes that the treatise was definitely written by al-Makkī.¹ Both the *ʿIlm* and the *Qūt* treat key mystical ideas in the same manner, and, according to ‘Aṭā’, no writer other than the composer of the *Qūt* could have composed a book like the *ʿIlm* in that era. If the methods used in each book seem to differ in places, this is simply because of the different subject matter. ‘Aṭā’ thus claims that no doubt should be cast on al-Makkī’s authorship.

Shukri also rejects doubts about al-Makkī’s authorship of the *ʿIlm*, describing such doubts as a ‘baseless assumption’.² Although he identifies differences in style between the *ʿIlm* and the *Qūt*, he, like ‘Aṭā’, affirms that this comes merely from the difference in topics, the *ʿIlm* treating of deeper mystical

¹ *ʿIlm*, 6-7.

² Shukri, 47.

issues than the *Qūt*, such as *tawḥīd* and wisdom. According to Shukri, the change in the writing pattern between the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*¹ accords with al-Makkī's own inner development. Shukri quotes al-Yāfi'ī, who mentions al-Makkī's attainment of esoteric consciousness later in his life after his ardent ascetic practices,² and claims that this is what the shift in the two works represents. Shukri also asserts that the *ʿIlm* must be one of the several works on *tawḥīd* which are mentioned in an account of al-Makkī in the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Khaṭīb.³

Amin, on the other hand, concludes that the *ʿIlm* must have been composed 'in the circle of al-Makkī'; however, in his view, it is not possible to attribute this work 'specifically to al-Makkī'.⁴ Amin admits the existence of positive indicators of al-Makkī's authorship, such as similar patterns of argumentation. Like Shukri, Amin also sees al-Khaṭīb's reference to al-Makkī's several works on *tawḥīd*, and al-Yāfi'ī's description of al-Makkī's mystical progress, as pieces of positive evidence. However, Amin claims that the amount of counterevidence is larger, and that in sum the evidence points away from al-Makkī's authorship.

The significant items of counterevidence are, according to Amin, the third-person narration of the *ʿIlm*,⁵ its theme, and its use of a manner of elaboration that differs from that of the *Qūt*. He goes on to argue that the key concept of the *ʿIlm*

¹ The *ʿIlm* is written after the *Qūt*, as the latter is mentioned in the former, e.g. *ʿIlm*, 17, 27.

² Al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, 2.430; see Ch. 6.1.

³ Shukri, 48. Cf. *Ta'rīkh*, 3.89 (see Appendix I, i).

⁴ Amin, 181.

⁵ In many places in the *ʿIlm*, arguments start with 'Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī said ...', e.g. *ʿIlm*, 17, 26, 30 *et passim*.

is *ḥikma*, while that of the *Qūt* is *mujāhada*, and he highlights the point that the *ʿIlm* has clearer and more organised argumentation than that of the *Qūt*.¹ Amin concludes that the less repetitive and more systematic arrangement of the *ʿIlm* suggests a different author from that of the *Qūt*; however, its attribution to al-Makkī is still ‘conceivable’.²

Gramlich’s argument follows a similar line, and he states that the *ʿIlm* was probably written by a follower of al-Makkī.³ However, it is not so clear how Gramlich derives this conclusion. He claims that the omission of the *ʿIlm* from famous biographical works, the fact that its style is simpler and clearer than that of the *Qūt*, and its third-person narration do not tell conclusively against al-Makkī’s authorship. In other words, there is nothing which can definitively rule out that this writing is by al-Makkī himself. In the end, Gramlich states that the *ʿIlm* could be categorised as a work of al-Makkī in the same sense that ‘*Kitāb al-waraʿ*’ is presented as a work of Ibn Ḥanbal and *Kitāb al-umm* as a work of al-Shāfiʿī.⁴

Looking at the arguments over the authenticity of the *ʿIlm* chronologically, it appears that doubt about al-Makkī’s authorship has grown as the years have passed.

Nevertheless, Böwering studies ‘al-Makkī’s’ *ʿIlm* as a source of the teaching of

¹ Amin also points out differences in the sources of quotations between the *ʿIlm* and the *Qūt*. According to him, the former draws largely from al-Biṣṭāmī, al-Junayd and Sahl al-Tustarī, while most of the citations in the latter are from al-Tustarī. However, Amin argues that the quotations match the themes of the respective books, and concludes that this provides neither positive nor negative evidence of al-Makkī’s authorship (Amin, 180, 188 n. 41).

² *Ibid.*, 180.

³ *Nahrung*, 1.20.

⁴ *Ibid.* It is probably because both works, in their present forms, seem to be a collection of the doctrines of the respective figures, rather than the products of their own pen; cf. *ET*², s.vv. ‘Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal’ (H. Laoust), ‘al-Shāfiʿī’ (E. Chaumont).

al-Tustarī,¹ Awn uses the work quite extensively in his book on Satan,² and Knysh, borrowing Böwering's argument, presents the '*Ilm*' as al-Makkī's work without mentioning any issue of authenticity.³

In 1999, when Knysh's book appeared, Pūrjavādī published an article entitled 'The Reminders of the Book, *The Sign and the Interpretation*, by Abū Sa'd Khargūshī in the Book, *The Knowledge of Hearts*', in which Pūrjavādī concludes that the '*Ilm*' is not a product of al-Makkī's pen. This deduction is drawn mainly from the facts that Khargūshī died twenty years after al-Makkī and that the '*Ilm*' manifests a different pattern in its citation from that of the *Qūt*.⁴ Although some parts of this article are based on guesswork,⁵ it still gives us a good starting point to tackle the problem around the '*Ilm*'.

Using Pūrjavādī's argument, Karamustafa also concludes that this work is 'most certainly not' by al-Makkī, despite its heavy dependence on the *Qūt* whose central theme is the knowledge of hearts, '*ilm al-qulūb*'.⁶ In his article in *EL*,³ Ohlander uses the '*Ilm*', which he presents as being written by 'pseudo-Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī'.⁷ Although no explanation is offered, Ohlander's description might be reflecting the studies of Pūrjavādī and/or Karamustafa. The '*Ilm*' is, however, an

¹ *Vision*, 27-8.

² *Satan*, 59, 62, 73, 75 *et passim*.

³ *Mysticism*, 122.

⁴ Pūrjavādī, 36.

⁵ In the conclusion, for example, the author assumes that some passages of the '*Ilm*' are from Khargūshī's *Ishāra* (*ibid.*, 41); however, Pūrjavādī does not offer anything which could support his argument.

⁶ *Sufism (K)*, 88.

⁷ *EL*, s.v. 'action ('*amal*), in Ṣūfism' (E.S. Ohlander).

understudied work. As can be seen above, a systematic comparison between the '*Ilm*' and the *Qūt* seems to be necessary in order to properly analyse the problem of authenticity.

5.2 EDITIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS OF THE '*ILM*'

There are two modern editions of the '*Ilm*': one was published in Cairo in 1964¹ and the other in Beirut in 2004.² Both copies are edited by 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā', and, although there is no explanation, it is clear that the latest edition was published based on the previous edition. Both have the same foreword,³ contents and footnotes, with no obvious improvement in these respects. However, in general, the later edition is easier to read, not only because of its better printing, but also because of its more frequent paragraphing, its indication of the number of Qur'anic verses, and full vocalisation.

There are slight differences in spelling throughout the texts and, although the 2004 edition is used in this thesis, the previous edition has also been consulted. The major inconvenient difference between the two editions is that the latest version omits an index, which does exist in the older edition.⁴ This index provides approximately 200 names, which is particularly useful, and the reason why it was left out of the 2004 edition is not obvious.

¹ Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*', ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā', Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhira, 1964.

² *Idem*, '*Ilm al-qulūb*', ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā', Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2004.

³ The afterword of the 1964 edition is inserted into the foreword of the 2004 edition, which does not have an afterword ('*Ilm* (1964)', 291-4; '*Ilm*', 6-10).

⁴ '*Ilm* (1964)', 295-303.

In the foreword, 'Aṭā' explains that the manuscript he has used was taken from the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo (no. 113, 215 fols). According to him, each folio has nineteen lines with clear Naskh style; however, corruptions and grammatical disorganisation can sometimes be found in the text, and here 'Aṭā' has made alterations and added word(s) while editing. The manuscript has, 'Aṭā' notes, comments in the margin in bad handwriting offering an explanation of words, but there is nothing in the manuscript which indicates its history. From the type of ink, leaves and style, 'Aṭā' concludes that the manuscript was probably made in the twelfth century, or the fifteenth century at the latest.¹

'Aṭā' also mentions another manuscript which is available at Real Biblioteca del Monasterio (the Escorial library) in Spain. Brockelmann and Sezgin include in their lists a manuscript of the '*Ilm*' held at this library,² while neither of them mentions the one in Cairo which 'Aṭā' used for his edition. Since this Escorial manuscript does not seem to have been studied well, a short description of it is given here.

The Escorial manuscript (Ms. árabe 739) contains eighty-eight folios and each page has twenty-one lines. Any further physical description (the material, dimensions, text area and so on) cannot be given here, since the catalogue does not provide much detail³ and I have been able to consult only a black and white PDF file

¹ '*Ilm*', 3-4.

² Brockelmann: 'Esc.² II, 749, I' (*GAL*, SI.360); Sezgin: '739/I, ff. 1-88, 975H' (*GAS*, 1.667).

³ Some confusion can be seen in the numbering and cataloguing of this manuscript. It is numbered as 739 on the actual manuscript (it looks as if it was originally numbered as 619, then 713 and then 739); however, in the catalogue, no. 735 seems to offer the most likely description

of the manuscript. The title and the author's name are given on fol. 1r as *Kitāb 'ilm al-qulūb* and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī respectively.¹ There is no colophon which indicates the name of the copyist or the date, but there is a seven-line poem in Persian at the end (fol. 88r) in a different hand from the main text. This indicates the possible connection of the copy to Persia. Two owners' signatures and a stamp occur on fol. 1r. The first signature includes the year 985/1577-8² and the second 988/1580, but the stamp is unreadable. In a short Latin description of the copy on the same leaf, the year 976/1568-9 is given for the date of this manuscript, but it is not clear from where this year was drawn.³ The history of the manuscript remains unclear and it is not revealed how and when the Escorial library obtained it.

The text appears to be written by a single hand in a Naskh style. There is no particular ornamentation. A different colour seems to be used for headings, but it is hard to tell from the black and white text available. There are marginalia in the main text which appear to be in the same hand. The Escorial manuscript is not a complete

of this manuscript. It explains that this 'ascetic (*asceticus*)' text deals with Sufism, morals, truth and pious actions, and is written by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī. The first and last sentences of the manuscript accord with the note of this entry; however, the title of this text in the catalogue can be read as 'قوة القلوب' (*Penu Cordium*), not '*Ilm al-qulūb*' (Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, 1.221).

¹ The full description is: كتاب علم القلوب من تصانيف الشيخ الامام ابي طالب المكي قدس الله روحه العزيز ونور ضريحه بمنه وكرمه تم (A book of the knowledge of hearts, one of the compilations of Shaykh and Imām Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī – may God sanctify his venerable soul and fill his grave with light by His grace and generosity –).

² In the first signature, a name Muḥammad Marghinānī or Mīrghinānī appears. Al-Marginānī is the name of a famous family of Ḥanafī lawyers, originally from Central Asia (*EF*², s.v. (W. Heffening)). The name might also suggest a link with the founder of the most influential Sufi order in Sudan (Mīrghaniyya or Khatmiyya), Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mīrghānī (d. 1268/1852). This Sufi family is said to have been from Marghan in Central Asia (*EF*², s.v. 'Mīrghaniyya or Khatmiyya' (Ed.)). Both cases, together with the Persian poem at the end, suggest the possible connection of this copy to Persia.

³ It is said that this is an 'ascetic' text about the 'vanity (*vanitate*)' of this world (Esc, 1r).

text; fol. 6v has only fifteen lines and the next six lines seem to have disappeared. This leaf is the only folio which does not have a catchword, while every verso folio of the manuscript has one. The text for what amounts to almost thirty-five pages in the modern edition (half of Chapter 1 and two-thirds of Chapter 2)¹ is missing between the end of fol. 6v and the beginning of fol. 7r. On the last leaf of the text, fol. 86r, the last three words are erased with a line and the manuscript finishes at the beginning of the last section of the modern edition of the *ʿIlm*, which is a collection of sayings.² Apart from those two missing parts, the Escorial manuscript contains the rest of the *ʿIlm*.

At this moment, the existence of two manuscripts of the *ʿIlm* can be confirmed, and both indicate the author as al-Makkī. It is clear that the problem of authenticity cannot be resolved only through examining the manuscripts. The next section, therefore, focuses on internal evidence, the contents of the *ʿIlm*, in order to assess whether the key elements of this work significantly reflect those of the *Qūt*.

5.3 THE CONTENTS OF THE *ʿILM*

Let us first observe the title of the book, *ʿIlm al-qulūb*, closely. The author does not spend extra space on explaining the title, and the book does not contain an introduction, as is the case with the *Qūt*. In Chapter 1, al-Makkī is cited, stating that

¹ Fol. 6v finishes with the first word of the fourth paragraph, والمقتصد (*ʿIlm*, 29), and fol. 7r begins with ذى الوجهين (in the modern edition ذا الوجهين) which occurs in the first line of the first paragraph (*ibid.*, 66).

² Fol. 86v finishes with الواحد (*ibid.*, 251, l. 4) and the next words وقال افقر الفقرا are erased (*ibid.*, l. 5).

those who are knowledgeable about the Hereafter possess ‘internal knowledge (*ʿilm al-bāṭin*)’ and ‘the knowledge of hearts (*ʿilm al-qulūb*)’.¹ In Chapter 3, Basran scholars’ interpretation of the famous *ḥadīth* <The quest for knowledge is a religious duty upon every Muslim> is interpreted as indicating that this knowledge is ‘knowledge of the heart, the realisation of the impulses (*khawāṭir*) and their detailed analysis’, and the importance of differentiating what belongs to the angel from what belongs to the enemy is emphasised.²

This seems to be a shortened version of a citation in the *Qūt*, where al-Makkī also highlights the significance of having right intention (*niyya*) as the core of every action, and states that these ‘sciences of hearts (*ʿulūm al-qulūb*)’ were originally taught by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.³ To a certain extent, the *ʿIlm* seems to follow this argument in the *Qūt*.

In the modern editions, the *ʿIlm* is divided into eighteen sections: eleven chapters (*abwāb*, sing. *bāb*), followed by five discussions and two collections of sayings. Apart from the very short discussions (sections 13 and 14) and the collections at the end (sections 17 and 18), each section starts with either a Qur’anic verse or a brief statement which introduces the subject matter. Most sections are

¹ *Ibid.*, 30. A similar statement can be also seen in the *Qūt* (1.377).

² *ʿIlm*, 79-80.

³ *Qūt*, 1.364. The *Qūt* has a list of the names of his disciples who transmitted his doctrine. In the *ʿIlm*, on the other hand, only the followers’ names are mentioned and al-Ḥasan’s name does not appear.

divided into sub-sections. This pattern is not always seen in the *Qūt* and, for the most part, the structure of each section of the *ʿIlm* is more organised than the *Qūt*.¹

The *ʿIlm* begins with the *basmala* and a eulogy to God, the Prophet Muḥammad and his family.² After these doxological phrases, the book moves straight to the first chapter,³ which deals with the nature (*māhīya*) and the great value (*qadr*) of wisdom (*ḥikma*). The chapter starts with a Qurʾanic verse:

«He giveth wisdom unto whom He will, and he unto whom wisdom is given, he truly hath received abundant good».⁴

This is followed by numerous sayings of various people, including Sufis and *ḥadīth* transmitters, with other Qurʾanic verses and many *ḥadīth* regarding wisdom. At the beginning of the chapter, it is stressed that God bestowed ‘exquisite wisdom (*laṭīf al-ḥikma*)’ on prophets and messengers only; and after the seal of the prophets, Muḥammad, nobody has experienced it.⁵ However, as Luqmān received wisdom even though he was not a prophet,⁶ God does offer wisdom to whom He wills.⁷ This statement appears to be intended to exhort the reader to worship God properly in order to become one of His special servants.

¹ Cf. Amin, 35-42 for a brief summary of the book.

² *ʿIlm*, 15; Esc, 1v. It appears as خير خليفة محمد in the MS instead of محمد النبي .

³ *ʿIlm*, 15-45; Esc, 1v-6v (the MS does not contain the whole of Ch. 1; the last word on fol. 6v ends with the first word of par. 4, *ʿIlm*, 29). The last two words of the title appears as الحكمة and شرحها in the MS (Esc, 1v) instead of الحكمة وشرفها (*ʿIlm*, 15). Numerous differences can be seen between the Escorial manuscript and the modern editions of the *ʿIlm*. Here, only the inconsistencies in the section titles of the MS and the 2004 edition are pointed out.

⁴ 2:269.

⁵ *ʿIlm*, 15.

⁶ See Q. 31:12-19. Luqmān is a legendary sage in the pre-Islamic period. It is said that he chose to be a sage when God gave him a choice of becoming a prophet (cf. *ET*², s.v. (B. Heller); *EQ*, s.v. (A.H.M. Zahniser)). See also *ʿIlm*, 55.

⁷ Ten Qurʾanic verses (2:269, 2:247, 2:105, 9:28, 6:41, 9:27, 2:212, 3:129, 10:25, 6:83 [in this order]) are cited to explain ten different types of God’s special servants on whom God bestows wisdom (*ʿIlm*, 15-16).

Chapter 2¹ examines the difference between wisdom (*ḥikma*) and knowledge (*ʿilm*),² quoting many Qur’anic verses, *ḥadīth* and sayings, as in the previous chapter. Various kinds and levels of knowledge are presented here (for instance, knowledge of hearts and of tongues, knowledge of this world and of the Hereafter, knowledge of the internal and of the external).³ Readers are warned to recognise the differences among the learned according to the quality of their knowledge, and are also encouraged to associate themselves with those possessing wisdom and true knowledge.

As in the *Qūt*, the importance of action is emphasised throughout the *ʿIlm*, which quotes a saying that if knowledge is ‘with the one who does not act through it’, it is like ‘money being with the one who does not spend it, and an idea with the one who does not approve it’.⁴ In Chapter 2, the concept of gnosis (*maʿrifa*) also often appears, either in comparison with knowledge, or as one of the items which God may bestow upon His faithful worshippers, like wisdom. Ignorance is severely condemned, as well as superficial knowledge, since they both mislead believers. A saying of al-Junayd is cited that knowledge is that by which ‘you find out your scope: how much [knowledge you have] and what it is’.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 46-77; Esc, 7r-11r (the MS does not contain the whole chapter; the first word on fol. 7r is the tenth word of par. 1, *ʿIlm*, 66).

² Amin states that wisdom is treated as being superior to knowledge (Amin, 36). A saying that suggests this idea appears in this chapter; however, a counter-argument is introduced in the following paragraph, and, on the whole, the hierarchy between wisdom and knowledge does not seem to be as clear as Amin indicates (he does not mention the specific page number) (*ʿIlm*, 50).

³ Esp. *ibid.*, 51-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Chapters 1 and 2 constitute a quarter of the book, and are followed by a short chapter¹ on a famous *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad, <The quest for knowledge is a religious duty upon every Muslim>.² This chapter begins with a Qur'anic verse, «*Therefore the beggar (sā'il) drive not away*»,³ and interprets this 'beggar' not as a tramp (*miskīn*) who is asking for small things for living, but as a seeker of knowledge looking for guidance which can show him the way to God.⁴ Keeping this as the basis of the argument, the chapter cites different understandings of the above-quoted *ḥadīth* from scholars of external and internal knowledge. Various interpretations are then introduced to discuss which sort of knowledge should be sought; for instance, inner knowledge, the knowledge of purification of faith (*ikhhlāṣ*)⁵, the knowledge of heart, or the knowledge of *tawḥīd*.⁶ Concepts of *tawḥīd*, gnosis and devotion are touched upon in this chapter; however, they are treated mainly in the following three chapters. Considering the length and contents of this small section, Chapter 3 could be treated as an introduction to the following three chapters, rather than as a single independent chapter.

The title of Chapter 4⁷ indicates that this chapter concerns the concepts of *tawḥīd* and devotional seclusion (*tafrīd*),⁸ and it is stated at the beginning that there

¹ *Ibid.*, 78-83; Esc, 11r-13v.

² It appears as *على كل مسلم ومسلم* in the MS (Esc, 11r) instead of *على كل مسلم* (*ʿIlm*, 78).

³ 93:10. Other Qur'anic verses are also introduced; e.g. «*And in whose wealth there is a right acknowledged. For the beggar and the destitute*» (70:24-5).

⁴ *ʿIlm*, 78.

⁵ See below for a detailed explanation of this term.

⁶ See especially *ʿIlm*, 78-81.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 84-112; Esc, 13v-26r.

⁸ See Ch. 4.2 [81]-[84] (*Qūt*, 1.337) for a detailed explanation of this term. One more concept, that of *tajrīd*, is mentioned in the title of the MS (Esc, 13v). This term is used in the sense of

are seven verses in the Qur’ān which elucidate *tawhīd* and the characteristics of those who have reached *tawhīd*. However, only five verses¹ are introduced in this chapter and the idea of devotional seclusion does not seem to have been treated as much as *tawhīd*. The five verses concern various types of supreme knowledge in which God has laid down divine matters. As with the previous chapters, this chapter is full of quotations from the Qur’ān, *ḥadīth* and sayings of religious people; however, definitions of *tawhīd* and *tafrīd* are not given.

Chapter 5² concerns the characteristics of a number of gnostics who are known for their purity and religious certainty. At the beginning of the chapter, gnosis is described as ‘the highest station (*maqām*) of those possessing religious certainty, the most complete state (*ḥāl*) of the faithful and the most honourable rank of those close [to God]’.³ According to the Prophet, gnosis of God is the source (*aṣl*) and the principal part (*ra’s*) of knowledge, and it is the most important obligation for humans to attain this knowledge. This chapter introduces seven Qur’anic verses⁴ in order to clarify various matters regarding gnosis.

Chapter 6⁵ concerns purification of faith, *ikhhlās*. This term can also be translated as ‘sincere devotion’, ‘faithfulness’ or ‘fidelity’.¹ The derivatives of its

freeing the heart from this-worldly attachment (cf. *Kashf*, 60 *et passim*). Al-Ṭūsī explains *tajrīd*, *tafrīd* and *tawhīd* as three harmonious conditions for the path to reality (Abū Khizām, *Mu‘jam al-muṣṭalḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, 56).

¹ 2:163, 7:172, 9:3, 11:1, 51:49.

² *‘Ilm*, 113-36; Esc, 26r-37v.

³ *‘Ilm*, 113.

⁴ 2:171 (? there are several verses at the beginning of the chapter and it is not clear which one is intended to be the first verse for the clarification of gnosis. The modern editions are not clear on this point either), 112:2, 39:21, 20:5, 2:255, 39:67, 42:11.

⁵ *‘Ilm*, 137-63; Esc, 37v-49r.

root, *khalaṣa*, often appear in the Qur'ān² to designate the 'type of the pure monotheistic faith' (*ḥanīf*) as opposed to 'all forms of *shirk*'.³ In accordance with this, at the outset of Chapter 6, purification of faith is stated as the 'religious duty' which makes belief complete.⁴ *Ikhhlāṣ* is the 'kernels of actions', while action without this wholehearted devotion is like 'the body without soul'.⁵

Among the five aspects of purification introduced in the first half of this chapter, the first concerns the purification of religion (*milla*) from other religions, and quotes, «Say: God has spoken the truth; therefore follow the creed (*milla*) of Abraham, a man of pure faith (*ḥanīf*) and no idolater (*mushrikūn*)». ⁶ As indicated in this verse (and the description above), *ikhhlāṣ* is used as not only earnestness but also for making faith pure from any kind of idolatrous activity (*shirk*, 'association'). *Shirk* is discussed in the latter half of Chapter 6,⁷ after the explanation of the other four aspects of *ikhhlāṣ*, namely, the purification of faith, action, speech and personal character.

¹ According to Lane: asserting oneself to be clear or quit of (believing in) any beside God (1.786).

² E.g. 19:51, 39:2 (مخلص), 39:3 (خالص).

³ *Concept*, 192. Izutsu renders *akhlaṣa* (whose verbal noun is *ikhhlāṣ*), as 'to make (or keep) pure, free from all admixture' in the sense that 'by "associating" anything with God, man ... makes [his religion] "impure"' (*ibid*). Cf. *God and Man*, 102-3.

⁴ *Ilm*, 137.

⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶ 3:95 (Arberry).

⁷ Amin states that four types of *shirk* are discussed in Ch. 6 (Amin, 38). A saying of Dhu'l-Nūn is cited in this chapter, explaining four aspects of *shirk* (*Ilm*, 151); however, this quote is not elaborated and it is not clear what Amin means by the four kinds of *shirk*.

From Chapter 7¹ onwards, the main theme becomes intention (*niyya*). The importance of having righteous intentions is valued greatly by those possessing good knowledge, divine wisdom and pure gnosis, which have been discussed in the previous chapters. A saying of the Prophet is quoted, <Indeed God does not observe your appearances ... or your actions. Rather He watches your hearts>, as intention is ‘the essence of conduct (*rūḥ al-ʿamal*)’ and ‘the heart of the heart (*qalb al-qalb*)’, and God watches what is hidden in the heart.² In this chapter, three Qur’anic verses³ and three Traditions are cited in order to explain the quality of intention and necessary matters to keep action pure and decrease the risk of harmful infection.

Of the eighteen sections of the *ʿIlm*, Chapters 1 to 7 comprise almost seventy percent of the book. Each of these chapters takes up approximately twenty to thirty pages in a modern edition (apart from Chapter 3, whose function seems to be as an introduction to Chapters 4 to 6, as mentioned above), while the next chapter, Chapter 8, lasts only one and a half pages.⁴ Its title indicates that this chapter concerns various intentions which the believers can have in a single action.⁵ However, as stated at the end of the chapter, this issue is treated in the following chapters.⁶ Chapter 8 appears to function as an introduction and encourages believers

¹ *Ibid.*, 164-84; Esc, 49r-59r. In the contents of the *ʿIlm*, a section that elucidates the Traditions seems to be separated from Chapter 7 (*ʿIlm*, 263); however, this section is treated as a part of the chapter here, considering the contents, the actual arrangement within the main text of the *ʿIlm*, and the manner of division of the 1964 edition.

² *Ibid.*, 164.

³ 22:37, 30:39, 76:9.

⁴ *ʿIlm*, 185-6; Esc, 59r-v.

⁵ It appears as *مجل واحد* in the MS (Esc, 59r) instead of *محل واحد* (*ʿIlm*, 185).

⁶ Although Amin states that these issues are ‘discussed thoroughly in the eighth chapter’, this does not seem to be the case (Amin, 39).

to diversify their deeds by having different forms of intention in order to receive various kinds of reward. The next chapter¹ emphasises the importance of frequent visits to a mosque and explains eight different intentions which the believers can have when they leave their house to go to ‘the house of God’.² Chapter 10³ illustrates twelve meritorious intentions which the believers should have once they enter a mosque and sit down there.

Chapter 11⁴ concerns hunger (*jūʿ*) for God. The believers are exhorted to starve themselves in order to improve their dispositions. From the seven recommended types of intention which are introduced in this chapter,⁵ *jūʿ* here seems to mean a believer’s conquest of the self and detachment from this world in order to obey God fully in conformity with the state of the Prophet and his Companions. Considering this underlying idea, *jūʿ* and the verbal noun of its fifth form *tajawwuʿ*, which is the actual term used in the title of Chapter 11, could be translated approximately as ‘emptiness (of the self)’ and ‘emptying (the self)’ respectively.⁶

In the modern editions, Chapter 11 is the last chapter that uses the term ‘chapter (*bāb*)’ in its title, and it is followed by five sections and two collections of

¹ *ʿIlm*, 187-93; Esc, 59v-62v. It appears as الاختلاف الى المساجد in the MS (Esc, 59v) instead of الاختلاف فى المساجد (*ʿIlm*, 187).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 194-9; Esc, 62v-65r.

⁴ *ʿIlm*, 200-4; Esc, 65r-67v. The MS does not have the word *bāb* in the title, although the title seems to be written in a different colour to distinguish it from the text part (Esc, 65r).

⁵ Although reference is made to six intentions at the beginning of the chapter, seven types of intention are covered (*ʿIlm*, 200).

⁶ In Amin’s summary of the *ʿIlm*, it is implied that Ch. 11 concerns fear of God (Amin, 40). A Qur’anic verse (79:40-1), which is quoted at the beginning, mentions ‘fear’; however, this does not appear to be the central theme of this chapter.

sayings.¹ In the rest of the *ʿIlm*, Chapter 12² is the longest and concerns right intention when paying a visit to brothers (*ikhwān*). It is stated at the outset that ‘visiting brothers for the sake of God is amongst the desirable acts of the believers’, and it is necessary for the servant to ‘purify (*khallaṣa*)’ his intention.³ There are seven meritorious intentions⁴ which should be distinguished from five blameworthy ones; for instance, paying a call on a brother to get food, to boast and to take something. Instead, the believers should have good intentions (for instance, respect and union of love) in order to gain rewards from God. This idea accords with what is introduced in Chapter 8 and expanded in Chapters 9 and 10.

Chapters 13 and 14 are somewhat fragmentary when compared to other chapters. Chapter 13⁵ is about the intention in fasting and Chapter 14⁶ concerns proper intention in the education of children. Unlike the previous chapters, these two chapters omit an explanation of the subject matter. Each chapter accounts for only one page and introduces several sayings. In the Escorial manuscript, Chapters 11 and 12 are treated as one section and so are Chapters 13 and 14.

¹ Those sections are not called ‘chapter’, ‘section’ or ‘collection’ in Arabic, but for the sake of convenience, they are called ‘Chapters’ here.

² *ʿIlm*, 205-25; Esc, 67v-76r. In the MS, Ch. 12 appears as the eighth intention after the seven intentions covered in Ch. 11.

³ *ʿIlm*, 205.

⁴ Six are mentioned at the beginning of the chapter but seven intentions are covered (*ibid.*).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 226; Esc, 76r. In the MS, it appears as just في الصوم (*ibid.*) instead of النية في الصوم (*ʿIlm*, 226). The title does not seem to be written in a different colour, unlike the previous title lines; however, it is emphasised with a superline which seems to be in a different colour.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 227; Esc, 76r-v. The title in the modern edition النية في تأديب الأولاد (*ʿIlm*, 227) does not appear in the MS where this section is treated as a continuing part of Ch. 13. After the citation of a saying of the Prophet in Ch. 14, the MS introduces a saying of Abū Bakr and a poem of ʿAlī (Esc, 76r, ll. 16-18), while this part does not appear in the modern editions.

Chapter 15¹ begins with a Qur'anic verse, «*And thy Lord inspired the bee, saying: Choose thou habitations in the hills and in the trees and in that which they thatch*»,² and states that there are forty qualities in bees which resemble those of the believers. These dispositions are explained in the following chapter. In Chapter 15, eleven *ḥadīth* are cited,³ in all of which the Prophet likens the believers to some other beings, such as ants and horses. Chapter 16⁴ enumerates the forty qualities of bees, comparing each of them to a certain characteristic of the believers. For instance, all winged creatures are living for themselves, while bees are living and working for their king; likewise, humans are leading their lives for themselves, while the believers (should) live in faith for God Most High.⁵

Chapter 17⁶ deals with love (*maḥabba*), which is divided into three types: general love (*maḥabbat al-ʿāmm*), special love (*maḥabbat al-khāṣṣ*) and exclusively special love (*maḥabbat khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*). After this short description, the rest of the chapter is a collection of sayings regarding love. The last section, Chapter 18,⁷ is a collection of miscellaneous sayings on a range of subjects, including: religious

¹ 'Ilm, 228-36; Esc, 76v-80r.

² 16:68. The next verse also seems to be relevant to the contents of this chapter, «*Then eat of all fruits, and follow the ways of thy Lord, made smooth (for thee). There cometh forth from their bellies a drink diverse of hues, wherein is healing for mankind. Lo! herein is indeed a portent for people who reflect*».

³ Although twelve *ḥadīth* are mentioned at the beginning, the twelfth point is spent in the clarification of the metaphorical images of the believers rather than citing another *ḥadīth* ('Ilm, 229, 235).

⁴ Ibid., 237-45; Esc, 80r-84r. It appears as ... ذكر الخصال المجتمعات في النحلة الموجودات ... in the MS (Esc, 80r) instead of ... ذكر تفصيل الخصال المجتمعات في النحلة الموجود ... ('Ilm, 237).

⁵ Ibid., 237.

⁶ Ibid., 246-9; Esc, 84r-85v. The Escorial manuscript does not have the title and neither does the Cairo one, 'Aṭā' having added the title أقوال في المحبة in square brackets.

⁷ 'Ilm, 250-61; Esc, 85v-86r. The title أقوال متفرقة does not appear in the Escorial manuscript. This MS ends at l. 4 on p. 251 of the 'Ilm, and the next few words وقال افقر الفقرا are erased with a line.

stations (*maqāmāt*), *tawhīd*, religious certainty, gnosis, God's special servants and so on. The themes of these sayings are covered in the previous chapters (especially Chapters 1 to 6) and it is not clear why they were not included there when the '*Ilm*' was compiled. This is the last chapter, and without any concluding remarks the book comes to an end.

The main themes of the '*Ilm*' can be said to be wisdom, knowledge, gnosis, *tawhīd*, purification and intention. The book deals with both the internal and external aspects of religion and quotes the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and sayings of pious ancestors throughout. On the whole, the contents of the '*Ilm*' seem to be in accordance with those of the *Qūt*. Most sections of the '*Ilm*' begin with either a Qur'anic verse or a short definition of the subject matter. By looking at the contents of each chapter in detail, the arrangement of the '*Ilm*', which looks almost random at first sight, starts to make more sense and to a certain extent shows a logical flow. It could be said that in general the '*Ilm*' manifests more clarity in its approach than does the *Qūt*. After examining the external and internal aspects of the '*Ilm*' itself, the next section analyses its further details in comparison with the *Qūt*.

5.4 THE *QŪT* AND THE '*ILM*'

This section first compares the aim and target audience of the *Qūt* with those of the '*Ilm*', and analyses their structure, approach and style. The aim is to contextualise literary similarities within the overall contents and to examine them in light of the

purpose of the respective books. Second, the religious authorities cited in both works are analysed in order to assess whether the *ʿIlm* includes any figures who died considerably later than al-Makkī, and to compare the pattern of quotation in the two books. Finally, the issue of al-Makkī's authorship of the *ʿIlm* is discussed.

5.4.1 THE AIMS, STRUCTURE AND APPROACH OF THE *ʿILM* IN COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF THE *QŪT*

Aims and Structure

The objectives of the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* are not clearly announced. The intended readers of the *Qūt*, as can be gathered from the title, are novices who are attempting to unveil the hidden features of religion and trying to reach *tawḥīd*. The contents of the book are, therefore, intended to be accessible to a general audience. The *ʿIlm*, on the other hand, seems to target a more specific group of people: those who want to deepen their knowledge of *tawḥīd* and to improve their understanding of various sorts of knowledge. Knysh states that the *ʿIlm* is 'explicitly aimed at the Sufi élite',¹ borrowing Böwering's analysis, who argues that the *ʿIlm* represents 'esoteric' and 'enthusiastic' Sufism, while the *Qūt* represents its 'sober' and 'disciplined' aspects.²

Like the *Qūt*, the *ʿIlm* treats of deep aspects of religion and elucidates key Sufi concepts with practical advice.³ However, as is the case with the *Qūt*, the *ʿIlm*

¹ *Mysticism*, 122.

² *Vision*, 27.

³ The themes in the *ʿIlm* are much more limited than those covered in the *Qūt*. But it should be mentioned that the former is much shorter than the latter. The modern edition of the *Qūt*, which is mainly used in this thesis, has three volumes with nearly 2000 pages, while the *ʿIlm* is half the

does not explain Sufism *per se*, unlike al-Sarrāj's *Luma'* or al-Kalābādhī's *Ta'arruf*. Compared to the latter two works, the underlying themes of the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* appear to be similar. Both books provide various observations on Muslims' religious duties and ethics, and cover the inner aspects of belief. The emphasis in the books is on how to become a true believer. In the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*, being a true worshipper seems to be considered to constitute (or be equated with) being a Sufi.

Both the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* are designed to demonstrate the proper behaviour towards God and to provide guidelines on the nurturing of the heart. The essential aim of the two books therefore seems to be along the same lines. Their arrangement is, however, different. In the *ʿIlm*, the inner elements of religion are illustrated first and the outer practical aspects are explained later. This manifests an approach which is almost the reverse of that of the *Qūt*, which starts with a long explanation of external practices and progresses to the internal nature of religion. This may suggest that the intended readers of the *ʿIlm* are those who have already started to observe the inner aspects of belief. The structure of the *ʿIlm* might, therefore, be summarised as follows: first, a description of religious theories, and then guidelines for applying them, providing actual examples which those believers can practise in everyday life.

With regard to the arrangement of each chapter, the *ʿIlm* seems for the most part to be more organised than the *Qūt*. The chapters in the *ʿIlm* often start with a short introduction or a brief statement of the subject matter which is followed by

size of one volume of the *Qūt*, with around 250 pages.

small sections. This pattern is hardly seen in the *Qūt*. As discussed above, the *Qūt* is mentioned throughout the *ʿIlm*.¹ This indicates not only the latter's later composition, but also a possible difference in expectations about the target audience. It appears that the reader of the *ʿIlm* is assumed to have read the *Qūt*, or at least has been encouraged to read it.²

On the whole, Knysh's statement that the *ʿIlm* was written explicitly for the Sufi élite could be said to be fair. But the book does not seem to be exclusively for this audience. In general, the *ʿIlm* sounds encouraging and shows 'enthusiasm', although it does not seem to overstep the 'sober, disciplined' Sufism described in the *Qūt*, as Böwering argues.³ The *ʿIlm* never sounds 'intoxicated', unlike, for instance, some of the writings of al-Ḥallāj,⁴ and its tone and expressions are rather more level-headed, like the *Qūt*.

Approach and Style

Regarding the approach to the subject matter, the same technique can be seen deployed in both the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*. Both are filled with Qur'anic verses, *ḥadīth* and sayings of sages, and both are very practical. The *Qūt* seems to try to describe, down to the last detail, matters necessary for being a good believer both inwardly and outwardly. This trend can be seen in the *ʿIlm* as well. If the *Qūt* is an encyclopaedia

¹ *ʿIlm*, 17, 43 *et passim*.

² E.g. *ibid.*, 77.

³ *Vision*, 27.

⁴ E.g. in his book *al-Ṭawāsīn*, al-Ḥallāj says, 'I saw my Lord through the eye of the heart. I said, "Who are you?" He said, "You!"' (*Ṭawāsīn*, 31).

of belief, the '*Ilm*' would be a specific dictionary for people who are familiar with spiritual ideas.

Concerning the style, a foremost point at issue is the apparent third-person narrative of the '*Ilm*'. In this work, arguments often begin with the phrase 'Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī said ...',¹ which naturally suggests that the author is not al-Makkī. According to 'Aṭā' and Shukri, this is only a writing convention and does not disprove al-Makkī's authorship of the '*Ilm*'.²

The *Qūt* itself also presents some arguments with apparent quotations from al-Makkī.³ One of the manuscripts of the *Qūt* in the British Library, for example, contains this type of third-person narration.⁴ This is a partial manuscript of the *Qūt* which covers the last third of Chapter 32 to most of Chapter 36,⁵ and in it we find the apparent third-person narrative in many places.⁶ Al-Raḍwānī uses six manuscripts from Egypt and Turkey as the basis of his edition⁷ and does not mention this manuscript in the British Library. Gramlich, on the other hand, uses different manuscripts from al-Raḍwānī, including this one in the British Library,⁸ but does not

¹ Sometimes with doxology, قال أبو طالب , رضى الله عنه or رحمه الله , sometimes without it, قال أبو طالب , *Ilm* 46, 56, 52.

² *Ibid.*, 6-7; Shukri, 47.

³ E.g. *Qūt*, 3.1460 ('Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī – may God be pleased with him – said ...'), 1463, 1492.

⁴ British Library, Ms. Oriental 7726, 351 folios.

⁵ *Qūt*, 2.963-3.1320.

⁶ E.g. in one place the manuscript starts as قال أبو طالب رضى الله عنه الافضل لمن لا يتداوى ان يخفى الله , while it can be read as الافضل لمن لم يتداو أن يخفى الله in the 2001 edition of the *Qūt* (British Library, fol. 4v; *Qūt*, 2.967).

⁷ *Qūt*, 1.19-23.

⁸ *Nahrung*, 1.21, where he describes it as an incomplete manuscript without date, but assumes it to have been written in the seventh/thirteenth century.

mention this third-person narration either.¹ Although it is not known how many of the approximately fifty recognised manuscripts of the *Qūt*² contain this type of phrasing,³ it is clear that it does exist in some.

In the manuscripts used for the *Nahrung*, Gramlich finds a great many differences not only in expressions, but also in quotations, which appear in different places, and in the arrangement of the text, which leads to a different chapter numbering system. Gramlich concludes that this might be because the existing manuscripts do not go back to the original text of al-Makkī, but to its editions or copies made by his pupils.⁴

Gramlich does not seem to have examined all the manuscripts listed in *GAL* or *GAS*. However, if this is the case with the *Qūt*, it would be difficult to seek evidence in manuscripts which points either to or away from al-Makkī's authorship of the *ʿIlm*, given that only two manuscripts of the latter work have been found. Gramlich argues that the third-person narration of the *ʿIlm* might indicate that this book was written by al-Makkī's follower(s) who collected materials from al-Makkī. Gramlich's statement suggests that al-Makkī was involved with the production of the book (it is not certain to what extent) but that he was not its actual author. Although

¹ Even though Gramlich indicates variations among the manuscripts in the footnotes, this third-person narration seems to have been omitted. E.g. Gramlich does not mention anything in the place of the above-mentioned example (*Nahrung*, 2.374; cf. British Library, fol. 4v; *Qūt* 2.967).

² *GAS*, 1.666-7.

³ E.g. another manuscript from Dublin, which is not used by al-Raḍwānī or Gramlich, and does not start a sentence with this phrase (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 3698, 185 folios – it contains Sections 1 to 31 of the *Qūt*).

⁴ *Nahrung*, 1.22.

Gramlich does not elaborate this point further, as long as there are several manuscripts of the *Qūt* that have the third-person narration, its existence in two manuscripts of the *ʿIlm* does not seem to have paramount importance in the discussion of its authorship.¹

Apart from this narrative issue, concerning the style as a whole the *ʿIlm* has a much clearer approach to analysis. Sentences in the *ʿIlm* are in general shorter and sharper than those of the *Qūt*. If the target audience of the *ʿIlm* is those who are already familiar with discussions of the internal aspects of religion, while the *Qūt* is written for novices, it does not seem to make sense that the former would have a clearer manner. This might support the argument for different authorship of the *ʿIlm* from the *Qūt*, but this discussion cannot go beyond guesswork at the moment. The next section, therefore, examines the authorities which are found in the *ʿIlm* in comparison with those in the *Qūt*. This issue does not seem to have been discussed exhaustively, but more concrete evidence might appear from here which will allow for an analysis of the authenticity of the *ʿIlm*.

¹ Apart from the problem of the paucity of materials for the examination of the *ʿIlm*, it is not unusual that a present form of a certain volume should be different from the product of the author's own pen, which is no longer extant. For instance, the *Lumaʿ*, in the current Nicholson edition, was transmitted by al-Sarrāj's pupil (*Lumaʿ*, 1 [Arabic]).

5.4.2 THE RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES WHO ARE CITED IN THE *ʿILM* IN COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF THE *QŪT*

Approximately 200 names appear in the *ʿIlm*.¹ Among them, nearly 80 are not mentioned in the *Qūt*. The most frequently cited authority in the *ʿIlm* is Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, appearing thirty-six times. This is a considerably higher figure than his twenty-six appearances in the *Qūt*, which is, it must be recalled, a much more voluminous work than the *ʿIlm*. The next most-cited group of religious authorities, who are referred in the *ʿIlm* around twenty times, are ʿAlī, Dhuʿl-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Shāfiʿī, al-Junayd and al-Shiblī. The frequent appearance of ʿAlī and Sahl al-Tustarī is in accordance with the *Qūt*, these two being among the main three figures upon whom this work relies. Among mystics, al-Junayd is mentioned in the *Qūt* fairly regularly, around sixty times, and this pattern could be said to be followed in the *ʿIlm*. However, the *Qūt* refers to Dhuʿl-Nūn only approximately twenty times, and al-Shiblī appears not at all. This stands in total contrast to the pattern of citation in the *ʿIlm*.

Regarding legal authorities, it is interesting to see that al-Shāfiʿī is the most frequently cited scholar in the *ʿIlm*, in comparison to Ibn Ḥanbal (three times), and Mālik b. Anas and Abū Ḥanīfa (only once). Ibn Ḥanbal, whose teaching al-Makkī follows, is undoubtedly a prominent figure in the *Qūt*, appearing approximately a

¹ See the list in Appendix VI.

hundred times, whereas Mālik b. Anas and al-Shāfiʿī are mentioned only a quarter of this number, and al-Makkī hardly refers to Abū Ḥanīfa.

The third group, who are cited around fifteen times in the *ʿIlm*, are Ibn al-ʿAbbās, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh al-Rāzī (d. 258/872). The first two figures appear quite frequently in the *Qūt* as well, while al-Makkī mentions al-Rāzī, a mystical preacher,¹ only sixteen times in the *Qūt*. The next two authorities, who are referred over ten times in the *ʿIlm*, are Sufyān al-Thawrī and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765). The former is one of the most-cited figures in the *Qūt*, while the latter is mentioned only fifteen times.

Comparing the key religious authorities in the two works,² we can see that they have less than half of them in common. This accords with the overall pattern that nearly half of the names cited in the *ʿIlm* do not appear in the *Qūt*. One of the main three authorities in the *Qūt*, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, is not often referred to in the *ʿIlm*, and the major figure in the *ʿIlm*, al-Bisṭāmī, does not frequently appear in the *Qūt*. Although the same priority can be found with respect to the constant presence of ʿAlī, Sahl al-Tustarī and some other early figures, there does seem to be a different preference for citation between the two works.

The *Qūt* seems to be more *ḥadīth*-oriented than the *ʿIlm*, which relies on mystical sayings more often than the former. The choice of Sufis also varies among

¹ Abū Zakariyya Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh al-Rāzī is one of the favourite authors of Hujwīrī. Al-Rāzī is famous for his doctrine of hope, fear and gnosis (*Kashf*, 122-3 *et passim*; *Risāla*, 414-5; cf. *Lumaʿ*, 37-9 *et passim* [Arabic]). Al-Kalābādhī lists him among the authors of books on conduct (*Taʿarruf*, 32 *et passim*).

² Cf. the table of the most-cited figures in the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* in Appendix VII.

the two. The *Qūt* shows an inclination towards the sober type of mystic; whereas the *ʿIlm* is not afraid of referring to intoxicated Sufis such as al-Bisṭāmī, al-Shiblī and al-Ḥallāj (the latter appearing only once in the *Qūt*, while six times in the *ʿIlm*). In connection with al-Sālimiyya, it should be mentioned that neither Muḥammad Ibn Sālim or his son Aḥmad Ibn Sālim is quoted in the *ʿIlm* (at least not by name). The *Qūt* does not refer to them often either, and, on this particular issue, the *ʿIlm* seems to follow the pattern of the *Qūt*.

On the whole, it seems to be difficult to prove al-Makkī's authorship of the *ʿIlm* from the religious authorities who appear in the *ʿIlm* and the *Qūt*. In one way, it could be said that there is a shared pattern in both works in citation, since nearly half of the figures are in common. This is not, however, a surprise, because the *ʿIlm* 'quotes' al-Makkī elsewhere. Considering this heavy reliance upon his sayings, it could be also argued that the *ʿIlm* shows a significantly different pattern from the *Qūt*. Unfortunately it was not possible for me to trace the death dates of all the figures who do not appear in the *Qūt*, in order to check whether some of them died considerably after al-Makkī. However, at least two authorities in the *ʿIlm* seem to have died fifteen to twenty years later than al-Makkī, who passed away in 386/996. The next section, therefore, first discusses this issue, and then finally analyses the question of the authenticity of the *ʿIlm*.

5.4.3 AN ANALYSIS OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE *ʿILM*

Al-Bustī and Khargūshī

These figures are Abu'l-Faṭḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bustī (d. 400/1010, 401/1011 or 403/1012-3) and Abū Saʿd (or Saʿīd) ʿAbd'l-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Wāʿiẓ al-Kharkūshī (d. 406/1015 or 407/1016). Al-Bustī is a poet of Persian origin, who composed both in Arabic and Persian.¹ In the *ʿIlm*, his short poem is cited² via 'the eminent Shaykh Abū ʿAlī'.³ Al-Bustī is reported to have been born in 360/971 in Bust, near Kabul.⁴ He was therefore in his mid-twenties when al-Makkī died. It might not be impossible that al-Bustī recited this poem when he was quite young, and that it travelled from Central Asia, where he lived, to the Iraq area, where al-Makkī was. But although this does not sound completely convincing, nothing certain can be stated here.

The second authority, al-Kharkūshī (who may be better known by his Persian form, Khargūshī), might be able to give us a clearer idea regarding the authenticity of the *ʿIlm*. Khargūshī was an ascetic from Nīshāpūr. Three of his works are listed by Brockelmann and Sezgin, including *Tahdhīb al-asrār* ('Instruction in Inmost Secrets'),⁵ which Arberry describes as a 'manual' of Sufism.¹ Although none

¹ *ET*², s.v. (J.W. Fück).

² *ʿIlm*, 224; Esc, 75v, ll.6-9 (in the modern edition, al-Bustī's name appears as 'Abu'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī'. The manuscript adds one more *nisba*, al-Kātib, at the end). His poem is cited in the end of a discussion, where the author introduces the narrative of the Prophet Muḥammad that God resides in the heart of the believer.

³ Four figures appear in the *ʿIlm* whose *kunya* is Abū ʿAlī, and it is not certain which of them transmitted this poem (see Appendix VI). None of their death years is known to me.

⁴ *GAL*, 1.251, SI.445.

⁵ The two others are *al-Bishāra wa'l-nidhāra fī ta'bīr al-ru'ya wa'l-murāqaba* and a biography of the Prophet (*GAL*, 1.200, SI.361; *GAS*, 1.670, where Sezgin mentions that Khargūshī wrote

of these scholars mentions it, Khargūshī seems to have written another work entitled *al-Ishāra wa'l-'ibāra* ('Indication and Interpretation'), which is cited in the 'Ilm² but appears to have been lost.³

Khargūshī is cited five times in the 'Ilm. The first appearance can be found in Chapter 1 of the book regarding wisdom (*ḥikma*):⁴

Abū Sa'īd al-Nīsābūrī – may God have mercy upon him – already mentioned the interpretation of this verse in the book *Indication and Interpretation*.

Khargūshī's explanation is referred to again at the beginning of Chapter 2 on *tawḥīd* and devotional seclusion (*tafrīd*).⁵ Khargūshī and 'his book' are cited soon after in the same chapter concerning the interpretation of another verse; however, the title of the book is not specified.⁶

Khargūshī appears two more times in Chapter 6, on purification of faith (*ikhhlāṣ*). First, he is referred to regarding the meaning of 'the gates of *shirk*'⁷ in a *ḥadīth*. Khargūshī explains it as 'Good is from God Most High, and evil is from my self'.⁸ The author of the 'Ilm soon seeks elucidation of another Tradition from him

many books). None of these three works has been published.

¹ Arberry, 'Khargūshī's Manual of Ṣūfism', 345. According to Arberry, this work is 'closely modelled on' the *Luma* of al-Sarrāj (*ibid.*, 346).

² 'Ilm, 19.

³ Cf. Pūrjavādī, 35.

⁴ 'Ilm, 19; Esc, 2(bis)v. (The Qur'anic verse at issue is 2:269).

⁵ 'Imām Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Malik al-Nīsābūrī said ...' ('Ilm, 84). 'Aṭā', the editor, mentions that the Cairo manuscript renders this 'Abū Sa'd'. In the Escorial manuscript, it appears as Abū Sa'īd. In this manuscript, the term *al-imām* is written at the end of the name (13v, l.9). (The Qur'anic verse at issue is 2:163).

⁶ 'Abū Sa'īd al-Nīsābūrī said in his book ...' ('Ilm, 86; Esc, 14v). (The Qur'anic verse at issue is 7:172).

⁷ For the concept of *shirk*, see Ch. 4.2, footnote to [62].

⁸ 'Ilm, 154; Esc, 45v-46r. In this manuscript, it is stated that 'evil is from me (مني)', instead of 'my self (من نفسي)' (*ibid.*, 46r, l.2).

again and quotes his saying: 'Exert yourselves against hatred for praiseworthy conduct and favour given to blameworthy conduct'.¹

All these five citations from Khargūshī are his interpretation of either the Qur'ān or *ḥadīth*. From the way he is referred to, it appears that the author has high respect for him. The book title, the *Ishāra*, is mentioned at the beginning, but it is not specified whether the rest of the quotations are also from the same work.²

It is not known when Khargūshī composed the *Ishāra*, or when he was born. It is recorded that he went to Baghdad in 393/1002 on the way to Mecca for the *ḥajj*, that he returned to Nīshāpūr in 396/1005 and that he died there in 406/1015 or 407/1016.³ Al-Makkī died in Baghdad twenty years earlier than Khargūshī, before he passed through Baghdad. It is possible that al-Makkī had a chance to read Khargūshī's writing, as we do not know the exact age of these two authors when they died. The probability of this theory being true, however, seems to be lower than the probability of it being false. Upon close examination of the cases of al-Bustī and Khargūshī, what becomes relatively clear is that there exist at least two figures

¹ *ʿIlm*, 155; Esc, 46v. Here his name is referred only as 'Abū Sa'īd', but there are two more figures who share the same *kunya* (see Appendix VI). One of them, Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz, appears once without any doxology (*ʿIlm*, 226), while the other, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, is mentioned twice with both cases followed by 'may God be pleased with him' (*ibid.*, 185, 188). This particular citation from Abū Sa'īd appears soon after the previous one, which is quoted from 'Abū Sa'īd al-Nīsābūrī', and the eulogy used after this reference to Abū Sa'īd is 'may God have mercy upon him', which is the same as when Khargūshī is referred to for the first time. It may be therefore deduced that this figure is Khargūshī, not the others, as the index of the 1964 edition of the *ʿIlm* indicates.

² Pūrjavādī guesses that all these citations are from the *Ishāra*; however, he does not provide any grounds for his argument (Pūrjavādī, 40-1). Since this is a lost work, it does not seem that this discussion can be verified, unless further evidence appears.

³ GAS, 1.670; *ET*, s.v. (A.J. Arberry).

among the religious authorities in the *ʿIlm* whose presence points away from al-Makkī's authorship of the work.

Concluding Remarks

Although we do not have as much information as we should like, it is now time to draw the threads of this chapter together, having discussed the manuscripts, the contents, the aim, the structure, the approach and the religious authorities cited in the *ʿIlm*.

Let us begin with the features common to both the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm*. First of all, they share the same basic argument. This may not be a surprise, since the *ʿIlm* is full of quotations from al-Makkī. However, even where his name or the *Qūt* are not mentioned, the two books often present similar discussions. In general, the analysis in the *ʿIlm* is more structured than that in the *Qūt*.¹ Another common feature is practicality. Both works offer numerous practical examples, which the reader is encouraged to carry out in everyday life.

¹ For example, concerning the Qur'anic verse, «And We made Solomon to understand (the case); and unto each of them We gave judgement and knowledge» (21:79), it is stated in the *ʿIlm* that 'God distributed knowledge, wisdom, understanding (*fahm*) and insight (*firāsa*) among David, Solomon and Muḥammad – may God bless him and grant him salvation –. He bestowed knowledge and wisdom upon David – upon him be peace –, while He did not give him understanding or insight. He bestowed knowledge, wisdom and understanding upon Solomon, while He did not give him insight. He bestowed knowledge, wisdom, understanding and insight upon Muḥammad ...' (*ʿIlm*, 47). In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī refers to the same verse three times. First, he mentions the superiority of understanding to knowledge and wisdom (*Qūt*, 1.150) and, in different sections, he states the allocation of these three qualities between David and Solomon (*ibid.*, 1.335, 424). Regarding *firāsa*, al-Makkī discusses that the believer, who possesses it, sees through Divine light, i.e. religious certainty (*ibid.*, 1.335), and emphasises the difference between *firāsa* and evil assumption (*sū' al-bann*) (*ibid.*, 3.1565-6). It seems that the *ʿIlm* summarises these points, gives a simpler structure to them and supports this argument with another Qur'anic verse.

A stark difference between the *ʿIlm* and the *Qūt* is their writing style. Discussions in the former tend to be more concise and more organised than the latter. Although their arguments are similarly supported by numerous citations from the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth* and pious sayings, these are presented in a more structured way in the *ʿIlm*. It should also be mentioned that the topics of the *ʿIlm* are fewer and more focused than those of the *Qūt*. Shukri argues that the *ʿIlm* is written in ‘a deeper mystical language’ than the *Qūt*, due to its concern with ‘deeper aspects of mystical knowledge’.¹ However, it is hard to evaluate whether the differences in style and organisation are merely the product of the varied topics and spiritual levels of the respective target audience.

Concerning the religious authorities who appear in the works, the preference of the *ʿIlm* for al-Biṣṭāmī, al-Shiblī and Dhuʿl-Nūn is not mirrored in the *Qūt*. According to Pūrjavādī, the *ʿIlm* represents Khurāsānī Sufism, especially that of Nīshāpūrī, while the *Qūt* reflects Iraqi Sufism, notably the Sālīmī teachings.² Among the authorities in the *ʿIlm* who are not mentioned in the *Qūt*, there are some figures who, from their *nisba*, seem to have some connection with the eastern part of the Muslim empire: for instance, Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī, Abuʿl-Ḥasan al-Būshanjī,³

¹ Shukri, 47.

² Pūrjavādī, 34.

³ He might be the same figure who is described as one of the transmitters of the Malāmatī mystical tradition from the Nīshāpūrī area to Baghdad in the 4th/10th century (*EF*², s.v. ‘Malāmatīyya’ (F. de Jong); among those personalities, de Jong includes Abuʿl-Ḥasan b. Bandār. This Bandār might be Bandār b. al-Ḥusayn, who appears in the *ʿIlm* but not in the *Qūt*. But this is not certain).

Abū Ḥamzat al-Khurāsānī,¹ and al-Bustī and Khargūshī as discussed above. However, since it was not possible to trace all the figures cited in the *ʿIlm*, Pūrjavādī's statement cannot be verified.

The question of whether the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* were written by the same author is not easily answered, partly owing to a paucity of sources. We have found, however, more indicators which tell against the theory of al-Makkī's authorship of the *ʿIlm* than those which support this theory. These factors include the different type of reliance among Sufi authorities in the two works, the quotations from al-Bustī and Khargūshī in the *ʿIlm*, and the latter's clearer writing style in comparison to the *Qūt*. On the whole, the conclusion may be drawn that the *ʿIlm* was not originally written by al-Makkī's own pen.

Pūrjavādī guesses that the book was composed in the mid fifth/eleventh century.² Since we do not know when Khargūshī's *Ishāra* was written, the earliest date for the *ʿIlm* can be only guessed to be some time after the composition of the *Qūt*. The *ʿIlm* does not seem to reflect the prominent Sufi works of, for instance, al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), Abū Nuʿaym (d. 430/1039), al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) or Hujwīrī (d. between 465/1072 and 469/1077). Considering this, it might be fair to conclude that the *ʿIlm* was written at least a few decades after al-Makkī's death in 386/996.

¹ See Appendix VI.

² Pūrjavādī, 37. Probably because Khargūshī died in 406/1015 or 407/1016.

The expression, *ʿilm al-qulūb*, appears many times in Section 31 of the *Qūt*, on knowledge.¹ It is emphasised there that the knowledge of the heart is the true science of belief and religious certainty,² which differs from the ‘knowledge of the tongue’³. The *ʿIlm* seems to be composed on the basis of this discussion and its overall argument does not deviate from al-Makkī’s line of thought in the *Qūt*.

It cannot be certain whether the *ʿIlm* was written by a disciple of al-Makkī, as Amin and Gramlich argue.⁴ In the chapter on the difference between wisdom and knowledge, the author of the *ʿIlm* states, after enumerating various types of knowledge, that:

Abū Ṭālib has already stated in [his] book, *The Nourishment of Hearts*, every type of the aforementioned modes of knowledge⁵ in sections, and described this as a whole and [its] roots. I leave this [issue here as] I have no intention to repeat it.⁶ One who would like to know this, study his book.⁷

It is clear from this passage that the compiler of the *ʿIlm* has deep knowledge of the *Qūt* and al-Makkī’s teachings. However, whether the author had direct contact with al-Makkī himself remains obscure.

When both works discuss the same topic, the argument of the *ʿIlm* looks like a summary of that of the *Qūt*, and does not merely repeat what al-Makkī says in his book, as seen above. Although the original purpose of the composition is not clear, the *ʿIlm* could have served as a supplementary reading to the *Qūt*. Without additional

¹ E.g. *Qūt*, 1.364, 374, 377, 390, 404, 443, 467.

² *Ibid.*, 1.374.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.390; cf. 1.377.

⁴ Amin 181; *Nahrung*, 1.20.

⁵ Literally: every type of these types and various sorts of knowledge.

⁶ Literally: in the hatred of prolongation.

⁷ *ʿIlm*, 77.

evidence, however, it is risky to say more. The influence of the former in history seems to be much more modest than that of the latter. But the *ʿIlm* still reflects the intellectual activity of the early stage of Islam, and it is worth investigating its contents in more detail alongside the *Qūt*.

A STUDY OF ABŪ ṬĀLIB AL-MAKKĪ

Saeko Yazaki

VOLUME II

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PART 3:

THE INFLUENCE OF AL-MAKKĪ

CHAPTER 6:

AL-MAKKĪ AND HIS WORK IN MUSLIM SCHOLARSHIP,

FROM HIS TIME TO THE TWELFTH/EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, PART 1

Chapters 6 and 7 examine historical narratives about al-Makkī in order to evaluate how he is treated in Muslim sources, what kind of influence he exerts and what sort of criticism he receives. The accounts of al-Makkī are widely scattered and it is an aim of the present thesis to collect these materials and categorise them thematically and chronologically.¹ Additional important sources are also studied in this section, especially when they do not seem to have been discussed extensively elsewhere. This chapter focuses on general biographical sources and works on Sufism, and the next chapter explores Ḥadīth literature and other accounts.²

6.1 BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE WHICH MENTIONS AL-MAKKĪ

The earliest extant account of al-Makkī in biographical dictionaries seems to be the one in *al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa* ('Homonymous Lineages') by Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Maqdisī Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 507/1113).³ He was a *ḥadīth* scholar and his report on al-Makkī is based on a narrative in *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* ('The History of Baghdad')

¹ Lists of historical accounts about al-Makkī can be found in Amin 20-7 (the same information is presented in his article ('al-Makkī', 75-6)); *Nahrung*, 1.11 (a list of the references), 1.11-21 (several more materials are found in the notes throughout); *Qūt* (2005), 6; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* 381-400, 127 n. 1; *GAL*, 1.217, SI.359; *GAS*, 1.666; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam*, 11.27-8; al-Ziriklī, *A'lām*, 7.160. The majority of the sources mentioned in these works are the same and are listed without explanation, apart from in Amin's thesis, which has a brief description of some of the materials, occasionally with translation, arranged roughly chronologically.

² See Appendix X for a chronological list of the materials in Chs. 6 and 7.

³ Cf. Appendix I.

written by another *ḥadīth* scholar, Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071).¹ Al-Makkī then appears in another *Ansāb* ('Lineages') by Tāj al-Dīn Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1166).² No extra information can be found in the entry on al-Makkī, in which al-Sam'ānī appears to copy Ibn al-Qaysarānī's account almost *verbatim* with some minor omissions.³

One of the most important accounts of al-Makkī can be seen in *al-Muntazam fī ta'rīkh al-duwal wa'l-umam* ('Systematic Arrangement in the History of States and Communities') by the famous Ḥanbalī scholar 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200).⁴ This book provides both historical analysis and biographical information, which can be found in obituaries. The report on al-Makkī in *al-Muntazam* shows the influence of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. Ibn al-Jawzī, however, does not merely copy what is written in the previous work. He adds valuable anecdotes about al-Makkī and includes his own analysis – which in this case constitutes criticism of al-Makkī's attitude towards *ḥadīth*.

It is worth pointing out that Ibn al-Jawzī describes al-Makkī as one of the 'pious ascetics (*al-zuhhād al-muta'abbidūn*)', 'virtuous (*ṣāliḥ*)' and '*mujtahid*'⁵, and he mentions al-Makkī's affiliation to al-Sālimiyya.⁶ However, the term 'Sufī' is not used for either al-Makkī or the *Qūt*. This shows a different attitude from that of

¹ Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Ansāb*, 153-4. For al-Khaṭīb, see Ch. 7.1 and Appendix I, i.

² Al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 541.

³ Al-Sam'ānī expands the previous *Ansāb* in his *magnum opus* and includes the names of 5,348 Traditionists (*ET*², s.v. (R. Sellheim); al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 1-4 [introduction]).

⁴ For a translation of his account, see Appendix I, ii.

⁵ A person who uses independent judgement.

⁶ *Muntazam*, 7.189-90.

al-Khaṭīb, who states that the *Qūt* is written in 'Sufi language',¹ and Ibn al-Qaysarānī and al-Sam'ānī, who repeat al-Khaṭīb's statement.²

Al-Makkī and the *Qūt* next appear briefly in another famous annalistic history, *al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh* ('Completeness in History'). The author, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), praises the *Qūt* as 'the roots of the most succulent of dates ('*urūq al-burdt*³)'.⁴ Like Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr does not describe al-Makkī as a Sufi, while he does so for al-Sarrāj.⁵

One of the most important anecdotes about al-Makkī's life can be found in the well-known medieval Muslim biographical dictionary, the *Wafayāt al-a'yān* ('Obituaries of Famous People'), composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282).⁶ In his account of al-Makkī, Ibn Khallikān quotes Ibn al-Qaysarānī's narrative extensively, but he also gives some extra information about al-Makkī's ascetic practices, which cannot be found in the previous works.⁷

Among the later historians who used Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam* as a model,

¹ *Ta'rīkh*, 3.89.

² Ibn al-Jawzī's other books will be studied in the following sections and general comments on his views of al-Makkī will be offered at the end.

³ بردی : one of the most excellent sorts of dates (Lane, 1.185).

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 7.183. This work is extensively used by Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Abu'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), a Syrian prince, historian and geographer, in his *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*. For his report on al-Makkī, Abu'l-Fidā' seems to combine the accounts of al-Makkī in the *Kāmil* and the *Wafayāt* (see below), and no new information can be found here (*Mukhtaṣar*, 2.131).

⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 7.137.

⁶ *Wafayāt*, 4.303.

⁷ For a translation of the account, see Appendix I, iii. The accounts of al-Makkī in the *Ta'rīkh* and the *Wafayāt* are often reproduced by later authors. Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsī al-Makkī (d. 832/1429), for example, who composed *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, mentions al-Makkī and the *Qūt* in his collection of biographies of people who have some connection with Mecca (2.158-9). As al-Fāsī al-Makkī admits, the first two-thirds of the report are an almost exact copy from al-Khaṭīb, and the last third of the account is from Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352-3) wrote the most massive work in this genre, entitled *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* ('The History of Islam'). Al-Dhahabī follows Ibn al-Jawzī's style and, like him, quotes al-Khaṭīb, but in his account of al-Makkī, al-Dhahabī does not simply copy his predecessors' works, but summarises them and adds his own evaluation and new information.¹ His report of al-Makkī's deathbed is slightly different from that of Ibn al-Jawzī, and he provides important information about al-Makkī's alleged collection of forty *ḥadīth*.²

Al-Dhahabī relates that al-Makkī has 'a sweet tongue (*lisān ḥulw*)' in Sufism,³ unlike Ibn al-Jawzī, who does not use the term 'Sufi' for al-Makkī in the *Muntaẓam*, or al-Khaṭīb, who criticises al-Makkī. Al-Dhahabī made six abridgements of *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* by himself, and one of them, *al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghabar* ('Lessons in the Narrative[s] of Those Who Have Lived in Some Time Past'), has a short account of al-Makkī, where he is recorded as having encountered Sufism, as having been a disciple of Abu'l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim, who was the head of al-Sālimiyya,⁴ and as having become the Shaykh of the School himself.⁵

Al-Makkī and his *Qūt* next appear in an enormous biographical work, *al-Wāfī bi'l-wafayāt* ('Completeness in Obituaries'), composed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn

¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* 381-400, 127-8.

² See Introduction: The Life of al-Makkī, Appendix III.

³ Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* 381-400, 127.

⁴ *Idem*, *'Ibar*, 2.320. This description seems to contradict the statement in *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* where al-Dhahabī explains that al-Makkī entered Basra after the death of Ibn Sālim.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.33-4. Although Amin claims that al-Dhahabī is the first author who reports that 'in his opinion at any rate, al-Makkī was a pupil of Ibn Sālim' (Amin, 26), this statement is wrong. Al-Khaṭīb mentions the link between al-Makkī and Ibn Sālim nearly 300 years before al-Dhahabī (*Ta'rīkh*, 3.89), and his statement has been copied in various places. A translation of this account is offered by Amin himself (Amin, 21-2). Overall comments on al-Dhahabī's attitudes towards al-Makkī will be made later when his other works are examined.

Khalīl al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363).¹ In his account of al-Makkī, it appears that al-Ṣafadī first borrows a narrative in al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rikh* (including the statement about al-Makkī having 'a sweet tongue' in Sufism). He quotes al-Khaṭīb's report about al-Makkī's alleged problematic utterance, and then mentions his ascetic practices, a reference which can be seen in Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*. Al-Ṣafadī next cites Ibn al-Jawzī's criticism of al-Makkī's use of *ḥadīth* whose origin cannot be traced.² Up to this point, al-Ṣafadī does not add any new information and it is not clear whether he is in favour of al-Makkī.

At the end of the narrative, however, al-Ṣafadī relates his own experience³ that he saw a copy of the *Qūt* repeatedly used by Majd al-Dīn al-Aqṣarā'ī, who was the 'Shaykh of Shaykhs at the *khānqāh* of Siryāqūs' and he says that, if possible, he would have bought it for 3,000 *dirhams*, but it was the *waqf* property of the *khānqāh* of Karīm al-Dīn and he could not obtain it.⁴ It cannot be certain from this whether al-Ṣafadī had actually read the *Qūt* when he wrote this account; however, it is clear

¹ Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 4.86-7. Apart from numerous works which he compiled by himself, he is known for his extensive copying activity, including Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* which is one of his sources for the compilation of *al-Wāfī*, as can be seen in its title. Al-Ṣafadī met notable scholars and writers of his age in Damascus and Cairo, including Ibn Taymiyya, al-Dhahabī and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. He is reported to have had a close relationship with the latter two figures (*EF*², s.v. (F. Rosenthal)). The influence of al-Dhahabī can be seen in his account of al-Makkī.

² Al-Ṣafadī here refers to Ibn al-Jawzī's *Mir'āt*. This work might be the one composed by Ibn al-Jawzī's grandson, Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256). The statement about al-Makkī and Tradition can be found in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam* (7.189-90).

³ Although Amin states that al-Ṣafadī in general 'repeat[s] the information given by al-Baghdādī, without adding any comment' (Amin, 26).

⁴ Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 4.87. *Khānqāh* is a cenobitic lodge for Sufi dervishes (*Mysticism*, 90, see also index; cf. Lane, 1.818). Siryāqūs is near Cairo and became an important site when the Mamlūk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 693-741/1293-1341 with two interruptions) built a *khānqāh*. According to Williams, al-Maqrīzī reports that 'a sufi shaykh named Majd al-Dīn al-Aqṣarā'ī, who had been shaykh of the *khanqah* of Karīm al-Dīn in the Qarāfa cemetery, was appointed head of the *khanqah* and 100 sufis were assigned to it. The Sultan bestowed upon him ... the title "Shaykh of Shaykhs", hitherto reserved for only the head of the *khanqah* ... in Cairo' ('The *Khanqah* of Siryāqūs', 110).

that he had a great interest in this work.

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Yāfi‘ī (d. 768/1367), the founder of the Yāfi‘iyya (a branch of the Qādiriyya) and a famous Ash‘arī scholar, also mentions al-Makkī and the *Qūt* in his compilation, *Mir‘āt al-janān* (‘The Mirror of the Soul’).¹ Unlike his many other works on Sufism, the *Mir‘āt* is a historical book influenced mainly by Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khallikān and al-Dhahabī.² In his writing, al-Yāfi‘ī calls al-Makkī ‘the Shaykh of Islam and the exemplar of the noble saints’. His short biographical sketch of al-Makkī seems to be copied almost *verbatim* from al-Dhahabī’s *Ibar*, although he does not describe al-Makkī as the head of the Sālimiyya as al-Dhahabī does, while he does mention that al-Makkī’s teacher is the renowned ‘great Shaykh and gnostic’ Abu’l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī.

The value of the *Mir‘āt* for the study of al-Makkī lies in al-Yāfi‘ī’s summary of his spiritual life. According to al-Yāfi‘ī, al-Makkī was in the beginning ‘a man of religious practice and struggle (*ṣāhib riyāḍa wa mujāhada*)’ but in the end he reached ‘innermost secrets and perception (*asrār wa mushāhada*)’.³ This statement appears to be found only here and it is interesting to see how al-Makkī’s spiritual progress is depicted by a Sufi scholar.

Al-Makkī and his *Qūt* next appear in *al-Bidāya wa’l-nihāya* (‘The Beginning and the End’), compiled by ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr (d.

¹ Al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-janān*, 2.430 (all the quotes in these two paragraphs are from here).

² *ET*², s.v. (E. Geoffroy).

³ This statement is used by Shukri as evidence to authenticate the *Ilm* as al-Makkī’s writing (Shukri, 48); see Ch. 5.1.

774/1373), a great historian and Traditionist of the Mamlūk period.¹ In his work, Ibn Kathīr often refers to various authors, including Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr and al-Dhahabī, and this major annalistic history is often used by later compilers.² In his account of al-Makkī, Ibn Kathīr quotes Ibn al-Jawzī twice, and here the style of his narrative is similar to that of Ibn al-Jawzī in the *Muntazam*, with minor modification and omission.³ Ibn Kathīr appears to be the only author who mentions, citing from Ibn al-Jawzī, the name of the mosque where al-Makkī's tomb was built.⁴ This statement cannot be found in the *Muntazam* or Ibn al-Jawzī's other three writings discussed in this section, and it is not clear where Ibn Kathīr obtained this information.

Al-Makkī and the *Qūt* are next mentioned by the Algerian historian Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn al-Qunfudh (d. ca. 810/1407) in his list of the death dates of notable Muslims, entitled *Kitāb al-wafayāt* ('The Book of Obituaries').⁵ The Egyptian historian Abu'l-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) also mentions al-Makkī and the *Qūt* in his history of Egypt, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* ('The Shining Stars'), which contains obituaries and biographical data.⁶ Probably from al-Dhahabī and/or al-Ṣafadī, he describes al-Makkī as having 'a sweet tongue' but

¹ Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 11.341.

² *EL*², s.v. (H. Laoust); Auchterlonie, *Biographical Dictionaries*, 7.

³ The poem, which al-Makkī recited, is slightly different from that which is related in the *Muntazam*, and the story of al-Makkī's death seems to be a mixture of the reports of Ibn al-Jawzī (*Muntazam*, 7.189-90) and al-Dhahabī (*Ta'rīkh al-Islām* 381-400, 127-8).

⁴ Jāmi' al-Ruṣāfa; see maps in Appendix II.

⁵ Ibn al-Qunfudh, *Wafayāt*, 222. He puts al-Makkī's death in the year 389/999, which is footnoted and corrected by the editor as 386/996.

⁶ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 4.174-5.

not only in Sufism but also in his preaching.¹ These two works seem to demonstrate that al-Makkī was known outside the Iraq area where he is reported to have been active.

The last author in this section is the famous scholar of the Ottoman Empire, Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd Allāh Ḥājjī Khalīfa (known as Kātib Çelebi) (d. 1067/1657). He lists the *Qūt* in his biographical dictionary, *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (‘The Removal of Doubts’), which enumerates approximately 14,500 Arabic works.² After a short sketch of al-Makkī’s life, Ḥājjī Khalīfa reports that no other work is said to compare with the *Qūt*, which explains the ‘details of the Way (*daqā’iq al-ṭarīqa*)’ in a manner which cannot be found in previous writings.³ This statement might be from the notable Persian poet ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), whose passage on al-Makkī in *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (‘Breezes of Intimacy’) is almost the same as this.⁴

Narratives in biographical dictionaries are often repetitive, and obtaining new information or evaluating authors’ own opinions is not the easiest task. This section has attempted to examine the general image of al-Makkī, and has selected materials which add something new to previous works or indicate al-Makkī’s fame.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 4.175. Cf. al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* 381-400, 127; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 86.

² Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2.319.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 121. For its translation, see Appendix I, iv.

⁵ After Ḥājjī Khalīfa, although new information cannot be found, it might be worth mentioning a report on al-Makkī in a famous massive work *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, written by Abu’l-Falāḥ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-‘Imād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1089/1678) (3.120-1). This biographical history was compiled for impoverished scholars like himself who could not obtain a large number of books (*EF*², s.v. (F. Rosenthal)), and the main focus of the work therefore seems to be a collection of earlier writings, rather than his analysis of them. This is also the case with his treatment of al-Makkī, whose account begins with the *verbatim* report from al-Dhahabī’s *Ibar* and moves onto a near-*verbatim* narrative from the *Wafayāt* of Ibn Khallikān. He mentions both sources but does not provide his own evaluation.

On the whole, it is clear that he won renown as the author of the *Qūt*. All the compilers in this section portray al-Makkī as a pious believer, although it varies whether the authors approve of him or not. These compilers describe al-Makkī in different ways, such as a Sufi writer, a *ḥadīth* scholar, a preacher and an ascetic. This aspect will be discussed in the following sections.

6.2 WORKS ON SUFISM

In view of the fact that al-Makkī is generally known as the author of a Sufi writing, the *Qūt*, this section studies works on Sufism. Both those which refer to al-Makkī and those which do not mention him are examined in this section, in order to analyse possible reasons for his presence or absence.

Al-Makkī's two contemporaries, al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) and al-Kalābādhī (d. ca. 385/995), do not mention al-Makkī in their writings. Amin argues that this is probably because al-Makkī was 'too closely associated' with al-Sālimiyya.¹ This statement, however, does not apply to at least the case of al-Sarrāj, who was 'intimately acquainted with Ibn Sālim' and quotes many of his sayings in his *Luma'*.²

As discussed earlier, it is not certain whether al-Makkī and al-Sarrāj knew each other personally, nor is it clear either why the former does not appear in the *Luma'* in the section where the latter collects Sufi sayings, both directly and

¹ Amin, 20.

² *Luma'*, xx [introduction by Nicholson]; *Vision*, 95-6. For a detailed discussion of al-Sarrāj and al-Kalābādhī, see Ch. 3.3.

indirectly.¹ The possibility that they knew of each other does not seem to be so remote, in view of their age (al-Sarrāj died eight years earlier than al-Makkī), association and the places where they lived. If al-Sarrāj knew (of) al-Makkī and still did not mention him in his compilation, this might be because al-Sarrāj did not consider al-Makkī to be a Sufi, or because he did not agree with al-Makkī's ideas,² or because of something else we do not know.

In the case of al-Kalābādhī, he states that he has not mentioned 'recent authors or the people in [his] time',³ after he lists previous Sufi compilations in his *Ta'arruf*. He does not include al-Sarrāj in this list, despite his apparent familiarity with the *Luma'*.⁴ Taken at face value, al-Kalābādhī's statement seems to be a good reason for the absence of al-Makkī in *al-Ta'arruf*. Other possibilities would be that al-Kalābādhī does not deem al-Makkī to be a Sufi writer, or that the latter's work is not known to the former, since it is not certain when al-Makkī did his writing or how and when his work travelled to the eastern part of the Islamic empire. It could be that al-Kalābādhī does not agree with al-Makkī's thought, but this is probably unlikely, as a distinctive feature of *al-Ta'arruf* is its introductory description of the Sufi movement to the people in Transoxania, rather than the author's personal critical analysis of its ideas.

Al-Makkī does not appear in the four important works on Sufism in the

¹ *Luma'*, xii, xxii.

² Al-Sarrāj criticises many of his contemporary Sufi authors for their lack of proper knowledge of Sufism (*ibid.*, 3 [Arabic]).

³ *Ta'arruf*, 33.

⁴ Cf. *Sufism (K)*, 69.

fifth/eleventh century. One of the first major Sufi hagiographies, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* ('Sufi Biographical Dictionaries'), compiled by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), quotes al-Sarrāj on numerous occasions¹ but keeps quiet about al-Makkī.² The *Ṭabaqāt* is a summary of al-Sulamī's own massive work, *Ta'riḫ al-ṣūfiyya* ('Sufi History') which contains a thousand biographies of Sufis (while the *Ṭabaqāt* includes abridged biographical data of 105 Sufis). This work, unfortunately, has not survived in its original form,³ and it is unknown to us whether al-Makkī was included in this lost work.

In one of the most famous Sufi biographical dictionaries, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* ('The Adornment of the Saints'), Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) collects 649 accounts of pious people, whom he deems to be Sufis, but al-Makkī is not included.⁴ Since Abū Nu'aym studied in Iraq and travelled widely, there seems to be a good chance that he was acquainted with al-Makkī's work. If he knew about al-Makkī and still did not mention him, the three possible reasons would be either that he does not regard al-Makkī as important, he does not consider him to be a Sufi, or he does but disapproves of al-Makkī's ideas.

Abu'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1073), a great mystical scholar, does not

¹ Al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 23, 76 [introduction by Pedersen], 572 [Arabic, index].

² Pedersen, the editor, mentions al-Makkī's 70 'sciences des ṣūfīs' in comparison with al-Sulamī's description in the introduction (*ibid.*, 27); however, the names al-Makkī and the *Qūt* do not appear in the main text. (Al-Kalābādhī cannot be found in the *Ṭabaqāt* at all.)

³ Cf. *EF*², s.v. (G. Böwering).

⁴ The available edition does not contain an index, and although al-Makkī's name does not appear in the contents, which is a list of names, it is difficult to know whether he is mentioned in the text somewhere in this voluminous work. This has to wait for a further study (including a complete indexing). What can be said, though, is that the *Ḥilya* does not have a section dedicated to al-Makkī.

refer to al-Makkī either (or al-Sarrāj or al-Kalābādhī) in his famous compendium of Sufism, *Risālat al-Qushayriyya* ('The Treatise of al-Qushayrī'),¹ where an effort is made to elucidate the principles of Sufism and to position them within the Sharī'a.² Possible reasons for al-Makkī's absence in al-Qushayrī's work seem to be the same as those for the case of Abū Nu'aym, i.e. it is not possible to go beyond guesswork here.

In the earliest extant Persian treatise on Sufism, *Kashf al-mahjūb* ('The Revelation of the Hidden'), the author 'Alī b. 'Uthmān Hujwīrī (d. between 465-9/1072-7) elucidates Sufism and enumerates twelve Sufi sects (ten approved and two disapproved)³. Although al-Makkī himself is not mentioned in the book,⁴ it might be worth mentioning that Hujwīrī esteems the 'Sahlīs' (the followers of Sahl al-Tustarī)⁵ as one of the approved schools.⁶ He differentiates this group from the Sālīmīs whom he reproaches as being 'anthropomorphists', and he connects them to the Ḥulūlīs, which is described as being one of the condemned Sufi schools.⁷ Since

¹ Knysh's translation of the *Risālat* includes an index, but al-Makkī does not appear there (*Epistle*, 429-60).

² The same kind of attempt can be seen in his mystical interpretation of the Qur'ān, *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, whose available modern edition lacks an index (*Tafsīr al-Qushayrī*). Cf. *EF*², s.v. (H. Halm).

³ *Kashf*, 130-1, 176-266.

⁴ Hujwīrī once refers to the Sufi Shaykh, Abū Ṭālib, but claims to have seen him, which rules out the possibility that this Abū Ṭālib is Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (*ibid.*, 173). (Al-Kalābādhī is not mentioned in the book either.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 195-210; cf. 130.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 130-1. Karamustafa states that al-Sālimiyya is theologically oriented and cannot be identified as 'Sufi or mystical in nature' (*Sufism (K)*, 114). Cf. *EF*², s.v. (L. Massignon); *Vision*, 96. According to Abū Manṣūr b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), al-Ḥulūliyya can be divided into ten sects, but he does not include al-Sālimiyya. The followers of the latter group are described as those belonging to the 'theologians of the Sālimiyya of Basra (*mutakallimū al-Sālimiyya bi'l-Baṣra*)', who relate themselves to the 'real meanings of Sufism (*ḥaqā'iq ma'ānā al-Ṣūfiyya*)' (*al-Farq bayn al-fīraq*, 247).

Hujwārī does not expand this point further or mention Ibn Sālīm – either the father or the son – in his book, it remains unclear how he sees the differences between the two pupils of Sahl al-Tustarī and al-Tustarī himself, given that the disciples are disapproved of while their teacher is introduced as a pious man¹ and referred to many times in the *Kashf*.²

In light of the respect for Sahl al-Tustarī which both al-Sarrāj and al-Makkī show in their respective writing, as well as the two writers' intellectual relation to Ibn Sālīm, it is not obvious why Hujwārī remains silent about al-Makkī while not only mentioning al-Sarrāj but also appearing to have consulted the *Luma'*.³ A possible explanation for this different treatment would be the varied level of commitment to al-Sālimiyya, if we accept Nicholson's argument.⁴ Al-Sarrāj, although he attended Sālīmī gatherings, does not seem to have belonged to the school and he reports having an opinion that differs from that of Ibn Sālīm in the account of al-Bisṭāmī in his *Luma'*.⁵ Al-Makkī, on the other hand, might even have been the head of the Sālimiyya, or, at least, is often associated with Ibn Sālīm in various *ṭabaqāt*. This could be a reason for the absence of al-Makkī in the *Kashf*; however, again, it is not possible to go beyond guesswork.

Al-Makkī does not even appear in two works of Sufi hagiographical

¹ *Kashf*, 139-40.

² *Ibid.*, 423 [index].

³ Al-Sarrāj appears three times (*ibid.*, 255, 323, 341) and the *Luma'* is mentioned (*ibid.*, 341) among the four mystical writings to which Hujwārī refers; cf. *ET*², s.v. (H. Hosain).

⁴ *Luma'*, x-xi, xix-xx, where Nicholson concludes that al-Sarrāj was not a member of al-Sālimiyya. Cf. Ch. 3.3.1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 394-5 [Arabic]; cf. *Vision*, 96.

literature in the following century: *Ṣifat al-ṣifwa* ('The Characteristic of a Sincere Friend') by Ibn al-Jawzī and *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* ('The Memorial of the Saints') by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. ca. 620/1223); however, after this al-Makkī suddenly seems to become popular, and starts appearing in various famous mystical literary works. The books of Ibn al-Jawzī and 'Aṭṭār have not been well explored, probably due to their silence about al-Makkī;¹ however, it is worth exploring possible reasons for his absence in their writings.

The *Ṣifat* is an abridgement of *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* by Abū Nu'aym, whom Ibn al-Jawzī 'admired'.² Being a well-known Ḥanbalī scholar, one might expect him to deny Sufism totally; however, his opinion on Sufis is not so straightforward. For instance, in *Talbīs Iblīs* ('Deception of the Devil'), Ibn al-Jawzī seems to attack Sufism vigorously, as expected, and he criticises al-Makkī for his use of weak tradition; on the other hand, in *Talqīḥ fuhūm ahl al-athar fī 'uyūn al-ta'rīkh wa'l-siyar* ('The Impregnation of the Perception of the People of Tradition in the Prominent Books of History and Biographies'), Ibn al-Jawzī quotes a *ḥadīth* which has been transmitted by al-Makkī and even uses his criterion for the categorisation of *ṭabaqāt*.³ This indicates Ibn al-Jawzī's familiarity with al-Makkī⁴ and it is puzzling why the *Ṣifa* does not refer to al-Makkī.

At the beginning of the *Ṣifa*, Ibn al-Jawzī praises the *Ḥilya* as a 'remedy for

¹ Both Gramlich and Amin, for example, discuss Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam* and *Talbīs al-Iblīs* but do not mention his other works or 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkirat* (*Nahrung*, 1.12-13, 17; Amin, 22-3).

² *El*², s.v. (H. Laoust). Cf. Auchterlonie, *Biographical Dictionaries*, 20.

³ *Talbīs*, 164; *Talqīḥ*, 714. This issue will be discussed in detail in Ch. 7.2.

⁴ As seen above, al-Makkī appears in his *Muntaẓam* as well.

malady (*dawā' li-adwā'*),¹ and esteems the saints (*awliyā'*) and the virtuous (*ṣāliḥūn*), as their understanding comes through the 'true nature of knowledge (*ḥaqīqat al-ʿilm*)'.² After his explanations regarding these pious people, Ibn al-Jawzī goes on to discuss the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions, and shows his respect for them for their 'knowledge (*ʿilm*), renunciation (*zuhd*) and worship (*taʿabbud*)'.³ The aim of the *Ṣifa* is to illustrate the true nature of Sufism, which is supposed to be in accordance with the guides demonstrated by the Prophet and his Companions.⁴ Since Ibn al-Jawzī does not specify his criteria for the inclusion and/or exclusion of certain Sufi figures, it has to be deduced from internal evidence why he does not mention al-Makkī in the *Ṣifa*. A possible reason would be that al-Makkī was not originally included in the *Ḥilya*, and Ibn al-Jawzī does not seem to have updated the original information.⁵ However, it is again not possible to go beyond guesswork here.

Al-Makkī does not appear in *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, written by the famous Persian poet 'Aṭṭār. This prose work contains biographies and anecdotes of about seventy Sufis and saints.⁶ The author himself is not said to have actually been a Sufi,

¹ *Ṣifa*, 1.2. He continues that there are, however, ten things which spoil the *Ḥilya* and he enumerates them (1.2-5).

² *Ibid.*, 1.9.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.88.

⁴ Cf. Laoust, who states that the *Ṣifa* tries to demonstrate that the true Sufis are those who 'set themselves to follow faithfully the teaching of the great Companions' (*ET*², s.v.). Khalidi argues that despite Ibn al-Jawzī's general reputation for being 'hard-headed about reporting oddities, omens, *karamat* and other marvels associated with "low" Sufism', his work is indeed 'full of them' (*Arabic Historical Thought*, 212).

⁵ For instance, he stops at the eighth *ṭabaqa* of the people from Kufa; a figure in this section includes Abū Dāwūd al-Ḥafīrī who died in 203/818-9 (*Ṣifa*, 3.108-9).

⁶ Arberry selected 38 figures from among them and translated their episodes in his *Saints and Mystics*.

but he had admired the mystics and collected their sayings from his childhood onwards.¹ ‘Aṭṭār appears to have written a book entitled *Kitāb sharḥ al-qalb* (‘Book on the Exposition of the Heart’), but a copy of it has not been found and its authenticity and even existence have not been clearly proved.² However, if he did write such a book, he would probably have been familiar with al-Makkī, since al-Makkī’s fame lies in his work on the heart, and it would be rather odd if ‘Aṭṭār did not mention al-Makkī in the *Tadhkira*. Among the possible sources of ‘Aṭṭār’s book enumerated by Arberry, namely Ja‘far b. al-Khuldī’s (d. 348/959) *Ḥikāyāt al-mashāyikh* (‘Narratives of the [Sufi] Shaykhs’), al-Sarrāj’s *Luma‘*, al-Sulamī’s *Ṭabaqāt*, Abū Nu‘aym’s *Ḥilya*, al-Qushayrī’s *Risāla* and al-Hujwārī’s *Kashf*,³ none mentions al-Makkī (with a single possible exception of the *Ḥikāyāt*).⁴ This could be a possible reason for his absence in the *Tadhkira*.

It should also be mentioned that none of these authors appears in the *Tadhkira*. ‘Aṭṭār might not have considered them to be key Sufi figures (even while he seems to have regarded them as important writers on Sufism), when ‘spiritual words alone appeal[ed]’ to him.⁵ He modified his sources freely according to his own religious ideas, and his work should be considered as an ‘extensive prose work’ which contains hagiographical information,⁶ rather than a hagiography written in

¹ *Ibid.*, 12; *ET*², s.v. (H. Ritter).

² Attar, *Saints and Mystics*, 13.

³ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁴ This work does not seem to have survived in its original form, and it is difficult to check whether it includes al-Makkī; only excerpts of it can be found in various places (*GAL*, SI.358; *GAS*, 1.661).

⁵ Attar, *Saints and Mystics*, 12.

⁶ *ET*², s.v. (H. Ritter).

prose. In the *Tadhkira*, a well-known ‘sober’ mystic, al-Junayd, is depicted as full of lively anecdotes.¹ As for al-Makkī, his only typical Sufi-like episodes are his apparent problematic saying and his death-bed story, which appear to lack the exciting features necessary to be included in ‘Aṭṭār’s mystical prose.²

The accounts in this section so far have concerned why al-Makkī is not mentioned by the authors discussed above. From al-Suhrawardī onwards, however, the tide changes and we see al-Makkī’s name in various places. This section will now look at several famous Sufis and important works on Sufism to evaluate how al-Makkī is treated.

Al-Suhrawardī, ‘*Awārif al-ma‘ārif*

One of the most renowned Sufis, Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), refers to al-Makkī many times in his main work, ‘*Awārif al-ma‘ārif*’ (‘The Gifts of Gnosés’). In this Sufi handbook, al-Suhrawardī elucidates sixty-three topics³ incorporating mystical ideas from early Sufi writings. The main figures, whom he has consulted, are al-Tustarī, al-Sulamī, al-Sarrāj, al-Makkī, al-Kalābādhī and al-Qushayrī.⁴ Gramlich, who translated the ‘*Awārif*’ into German, mentions the link

¹ Attar, *Saints and Mystics*, 199-213.

² It should be also mentioned that, according to Arberry, ‘Aṭṭār seems to have regarded al-Ḥallāj as ‘forming the climax’ which was followed by ‘supreme crises of the early Sufi movement’, with fair justification, and the original edition of the *Tadhkira* ended with the episode of al-Ḥallāj (*ibid.*, 16-17). ‘Aṭṭār’s interest in post-al-Ḥallāj Sufis might not have been huge.

³ These range from fundamental questions (e.g. the essence (*māhīya*) of Sufism) and mystical concepts (e.g. state (*ḥāl*) and station (*maqām*)) to practical issues (e.g. good manners (*ādāb*) between the sheikh and the novice).

⁴ *EL*², s.v. (A. Hartmann); *Knowledge*, 58.

between al-Makkī and al-Suhrawardī in the introduction to the *Nahrung*.¹ However, the discussion takes up less than half a paragraph, and there seems to be no other detailed study. It is therefore explored briefly here in order to evaluate how al-Makkī is treated in the *ʿAwārif* and to indicate the possible places in al-Makkī's work to which al-Suhrawardī might have referred.²

Al-Makkī first appears in the *ʿAwārif* in Chapter 3, on the merit (*faḍīla*) of mystical knowledge.³ Regarding a question about the type of knowledge referred to in the famous *ḥadīth*, <The quest for knowledge is a religious duty (*farīḍa*) upon every Muslim>, al-Suhrawardī states:⁴

Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī – may God have mercy upon him – said [that] this is the knowledge of the five religious duties on which Islam has been established, because they are incumbent upon Muslims. If the knowledge of them is a duty, the knowledge of action according to them becomes a duty. He said that the knowledge of *tawḥīd* lies with this, since the first [duty] is two testimonies (*shahādatān*).⁵ Purification of faith (*ikhlāṣ*) lies within this, since this is necessarily Islam, and the knowledge of purification of faith lies within the soundness of Islam.

This is most likely drawn from Section 31 of the *Qūt* regarding knowledge, where al-Makkī presents this argument in slightly more detail, quoting other *ḥadīth*.⁶

This excerpt from the *ʿAwārif* demonstrates several patterns in the way in which al-Suhrawardī refers to al-Makkī. First, al-Suhrawardī always puts *al-shaykh*

¹ *Nahrung*, 1.16. Cf. Gramlich's translation, *Gaben*, 46, 146, 166, 168, 175, 209, 294, 321, 377, 379, 386, where al-Suhrawardī mentions al-Makkī.

² A critical edition of the *ʿAwārif* is still awaited and its oft-used editions are 'defective' (*El*², s.v.). Here, one of the best-known copies, the Cairo edition, is used.

³ *ʿAwārif*, 22-35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵ This is probably because al-Makkī explains the testimony to *tawḥīd* and that to the prophethood of Muḥammad separately (*Qūt*, 3.1171-88).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.367. The same discussion can be also seen in Chapter 3 of the *ʿIlm*; this chapter concerns the *ḥadīth* at issue (*ʿIlm*, 80-1).

when he mentions al-Makkī with a doxology (except where the name is mentioned in close proximity). Although al-Makkī is not the only author for whom al-Suhrawardī adds an honorific title and eulogy, he does not do so to all the figures he mentions.¹ Second, al-Suhrawardī does not always quote directly from al-Makkī's work. In general, he summarises the original material and sometimes adds his own comments. Third, he only occasionally mentions the title of al-Makkī's book, which he has been consulting. Last, this excerpt also shows the importance of the combination of knowledge and action, which is given great significance by al-Makkī and continues to be emphasised by al-Suhrawardī.

After al-Suhrawardī mentions al-Makkī and quotes a *ḥadīth* in the *Qūt* almost-*verbatim* in Chapter 19 on the mystical state (*ḥāl*),² he expresses his admiration for al-Makkī in Chapter 22 on *samāʿ* practice. According to al-Suhrawardī, 'the word of Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī' should be valued for his 'great wealth of knowledge', his 'God-fearingness' and his constant 'striving' to become a better believer.³

Al-Suhrawardī continues and cites al-Makkī's words: '*Samāʿ* practice has that which is forbidden (*ḥarām*), that which is permissible (*ḥalāl*) and obscurity (*shubha*)'.⁴ After summarising al-Makkī's argument, he concludes: 'This is the word

¹ E.g. al-Suhrawardī does not call Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh (al-Tustarī) or al-Junayd *al-shaykh* ('*Awārif*, e.g. 15, 23; 18). He does so call al-Shaykh al-Ṣāliḥ Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī, but without a doxology (*ibid.*, e.g. 28).

² *Ibid.*, 108. Cf. *Qūt*, 3.1527-8 (the same or similar *ḥadīth* can be also seen in 2.899 and 3.1654; but with different arguments).

³ '*Awārif*, 125.

⁴ *Ibid.*

of Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, and this is the truth (*al-ṣaḥīḥ*)'.¹ Al-Makkī lays great significance on the ability to differentiate between *ḥarām*, *ḥalāl* and *shubha*, and the last section of the *Qūt* is dedicated to this issue.² Al-Suhrawardī refers to al-Makkī two more times in Chapter 22.³ This also shows his great respect for al-Makkī and, together with the first excerpt, it can be safely deduced that al-Suhrawardī follows al-Makkī's ideas and quotes him to support his argument.

Al-Makkī appears next in Chapter 28, which concerns a tradition that David prostrated himself for forty days and nights until God forgave him, when he realised that he had sinned.⁴ Although the phrasing is not exactly the same, a similar story can be found in the *Qūt*.⁵ Al-Suhrawardī then quotes al-Makkī in Chapter 41 on fasting (*ṣawm*), where he appears to have summarised al-Makkī's argument in a section concerning fasting in the *Qūt*, using the same *ḥadīth*.⁶

In Chapter 47, on the code of practice at night and during sleep, al-Suhrawardī refers to al-Makkī's recommendations in the *Qūt*, where detailed

¹ *Ibid.* Al-Suhrawardī most probably consulted a section on *samā'* in the *Qūt* where al-Makkī had presented the same argument with more detail (1.1090). According to Knysh, 'almost all of the early writers on *samā'* were Persians, with the exception of' al-Makkī (*Mysticism*, 323), although al-Makkī might have been Persian (see Introduction: The Life of al-Makkī).

² *Qūt*, 3.1711-39. The *ʿIlm*, on the other hand, does not contain a chapter which treats of this topic only; however, its importance is emphasised in various places (e.g. *ʿIlm*, 64, 75).

³ *ʿAwārif*, 127 (cf. *Qūt*, 2.1094) and 133 (the *Qūt* has a similar argument to that here (2.1094), but I could not find the exact place).

⁴ *ʿAwārif*, 162. Although the length of the period is not specified, this seems to be based on a Qur'anic verse, «And David guessed that We had tried him, and he sought forgiveness of his Lord, and he bowed himself and fell down prostrate and repented. So We forgave him that» (38:25-6). The Bible tells a story where David prostrated and fasted for his child after he committed adultery with Bathsheba and had her husband, Uriah, killed; however, he stopped fasting on the seventh day (2 Sam. 12:16-19). It is not clear if the Qur'anic version is based on this episode, or a Jewish tradition, as the Babylonian Talmud does not contain the same kind of story.

⁵ *Qūt*, 3.1376.

⁶ *ʿAwārif*, 236; *Qūt*, 1.222-3. A similar argument and *ḥadīth* can be seen in a chapter on hunger in the *ʿIlm* (202-3).

proper manners are elucidated at the beginning (for instance, how many *rakʿas* are recommended, which *sūra* should be read and how many times, and so on); however, al-Suhrawardī seems to have modified the number here and made the practice more accessible.¹ Al-Makkī says: ‘There are a thousand verses from the *sūra* of Sovereignty (*mulk*)² till the end of the Qurʾān. If [reading] this does not do any good, say “Say: He is God, the One”³ 250 times while performing *rakʿa* thirteen times’.⁴ Al-Suhrawardī, on the other hand, reduces the number greatly and recommends saying this verse five times for each *rakʿa*, for a start, and then ten times, and more, if one has not memorised the Qurʾān.⁵ This seems to be the only place where al-Suhrawardī makes changes to al-Makkī’s original statement.

Al-Makkī next appears in Chapter 48, concerning how to divide the night of standing (*qiyām al-layl*),⁶ which is based on a Qurʾanic verse, «*And who spend the night before their Lord, prostrate and standing*».⁷ The *Qūt* has a section on this theme, quoting the same verse (among others),⁸ and this is the only place where al-Suhrawardī mentions the title *Qūt al-qulūb*, not only its author’s name. The ‘book of Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī’ is then referred in Chapter 55 on good manners towards comrades (*ṣuhba*) and brothers (*ikhwa*), where al-Suhrawardī claims that this topic has already been treated in al-Makkī’s book which covers ‘every good thing

¹ ‘*Awārif*, 258.

² *Sūra* 67.

³ Cf. Q. 112:1.

⁴ *Qūt*, 1.57.

⁵ ‘*Awārif*, 258.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 261; cf. *Qūt*, 1.119.

⁷ 25:64.

⁸ Section 28; *Qūt*, 1.106-23.

about this'.¹

The last reference to al-Makkī is in Chapter 56, where al-Suhrawardī explains gnosis, the self (*nafs*), soul (*rūḥ*) and body.² This chapter deals with various matters regarding the heart and there are several arguments and *ḥadīth* which echo topics in al-Makkī's writing. Al-Suhrawardī mentions his name only once in this chapter and it is not clear whether his discussions are directly from al-Makkī.³

On the whole, it is clear that the *ʿAwārif* shows al-Suhrawardī's great respect for al-Makkī and that the former covers both theoretical and practical issues which are treated in the *Qūt*. Al-Suhrawardī uses a range of al-Makkī's main arguments, such as knowledge as a religious duty, the importance of recognition of the difference between permissible, forbidden and obscure matters, and both spiritual and practical elements, such as the concepts of *ḥāl*, the heart and the soul, and *samāʿ* practice, fasting, *rakʿa* and certain codes of manners. Al-Suhrawardī also transmits *ḥadīth* from al-Makkī's writing, which is full of Tradition.

Therefore, it does not seem to be so absurd to suggest that al-Suhrawardī might have used al-Makkī's ideas without mentioning his name. For instance, a quick look at Chapter 56 of the *ʿAwārif* is enough to recognise a similar argument in

¹ *ʿAwārif*, 306-7. He might be referring to Section 44 of the *Qūt* (3.1547-602). The *ʿIlm* has a chapter on meritorious intentions in the case of visits to companions (*ʿIlm*, 205-25).

² *ʿAwārif*, 312 (a similar argument with different wording in *Qūt*, 2.888).

³ Al-Suhrawardī, for example, states that 'if the soul operates (*tataḥarraka*) for good, light appears in the heart from its movement (*ḥaraka*) and the angel sees [the light] ..., while [if the soul] operates for evil, darkness appears in the heart from its movement and the Devil sees the darkness' (*ʿAwārif*, 312). Although I could not find the exact place in either the *Qūt* or the *ʿIlm*, this is the sort of argument we would see in al-Makkī's writing (one of the closest arguments might be a report in the *Qūt* (1.323); cf. Ch. 4.2, [13]). Another example is a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad (*ʿAwārif*, 313). Exactly the same *ḥadīth* can be seen in the *Qūt* (1.323; cf. Ch. 4.2, [14]), although al-Suhrawardī does not mention al-Makkī's name.

al-Makkī's work (especially Section 30 of the *Qūt* on the characteristics of the heart).¹ A more extensive study would doubtless reveal a yet greater influence by al-Makkī on al-Suhrawardī.

Ibn al-‘Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*

After al-Suhrawardī, the next important Sufi philosopher who shows high regard for al-Makkī is Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240). The link between these two figures does not appear to have been studied properly. Ibn al-‘Arabī, one of the most influential Islamic thinkers, is known for his prolific output.² It cannot therefore be claimed that anything like a complete analysis will be attempted here. In this section, his two main works on Sufism will be briefly discussed: *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (‘The Meccan Revelations’) and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (‘The Bezels of Wisdom’).

In his massive masterpiece, *al-Futūḥāt*, which contains a detailed exposition of Sufi doctrine with the author's mystical experiences, al-Makkī appears in many places.³ Several examples are discussed here. Ibn al-‘Arabī calls al-Makkī one of the ‘masters of the people of tasting (*sādāt ahal al-dhawq*)’⁴ and praises him as one of

¹ ‘Awārīf, 307-19; *Qūt*, 1.321-62.

² Brockelmann lists more than 200 works (*GAL*, 1.571-82, SI.791-802); Chittick claims that Ibn al-‘Arabī wrote ‘some five hundred’ books (*Imaginal Worlds*, 1); Ateş states that Ibn al-‘Arabī was ‘certainly the most prolific of all Şūfī writers’ (*ET*², s.v.).

³ E.g. *Futūḥāt*, 1.260, 2.62-3, 3.172-3, 4.190-1, 256. Chittick quotes a passage where Ibn al-‘Arabī cites al-Makkī: ‘Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, author of *Heart's Food*, and other men of God have said, “God never discloses Himself in a single form to two individuals, nor in a single form twice”’ (*Imaginal Worlds*, 160; cf. *Sufi Path*, 354).

⁴ *Futūḥāt*, 1.602.

‘God’s men (*rijāl Allāh*)’.¹ The title *Qūt al-qulūb* is also mentioned several times in the *Futūḥāt*² and Ibn al-‘Arabī introduces al-Makkī as ‘Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, the author of *The Nourishment of Hearts* and other(s) (*wa ghayrihi*)’.³ Although unfortunately he does not trouble to specify the title(s) of al-Makkī’s other work(s), this statement indicates that al-Makkī’s fame lies principally in the *Qūt* but that he is also known for other literary writing(s).

Ibn al-‘Arabī shows great respect for al-Makkī and uses his ideas in various places. Although he does not always agree with what al-Makkī says,⁴ he lists al-Makkī’s name as ‘one of our companions and Shaykhs’ and declares that ‘we hold his view and I support his view’.⁵ It is in general clear that Ibn al-‘Arabī esteems al-Makkī’s writing highly. For instance, after he introduces al-Makkī’s theory in the section on the most important realities (*ḥaqā’iq*),⁶ Ibn al-‘Arabī says:⁷

Try to understand what we have pointed out and make sure of it. It is indeed a marvellous secret (*sirr ‘ajīb*) from amongst the greatest divine secrets. Abū Ṭālib already pointed it out in his book, the *Qūt*.

Another work of Ibn al-‘Arabī, the *Fuṣūṣ*, is his most important work on Sufism apart from *al-Futūḥāt*. The *Fuṣūṣ* contains the teachings of twenty-seven prophets, from Adam to Muḥammad, regarding Divine wisdom. This famous

¹ *Ibid.*, 4.190.

² E.g. *ibid.*, 1.63, 4.190, 256.

³ *Ibid.*, 4.256.

⁴ In one place, for example, Ibn al-‘Arabī writes: ‘we do not hold what al-Makkī said and limit ourselves [to it], nor what the other said and limit ourselves [to it]... I say...’ and states his theory (*ibid.*, 2.62).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.172.

⁶ Although I could not locate the exact place where al-Makkī talks about ‘the sublime celestial body (*al-farak al-‘uluwī*)’, this term can be found in two places in the *Qūt* (2.660, 1135). It is not certain, though, whether these are the places where Ibn al-‘Arabī has consulted the work.

⁷ *Futūḥāt*, 2.63.

mystical and enigmatic work has been commented on by various authors, including Ibn al-‘Arabī himself.¹ In the *Fuṣūṣ*, al-Makkī appears only once in the chapter on David.² When Ibn al-‘Arabī talks about the mighty power of Divine will, he quotes al-Makkī who calls it ‘the throne of essence (‘*arsh al-dhāt*)’ because the authority of God’s will ‘requires order (*ḥukm*) for itself’.³

As can be seen from these few examples from the *Futūḥāt* and the *Fuṣūṣ*, it is clear that Ibn al-‘Arabī has studied al-Makkī’s writing closely and has great respect for him. Due to the scope of this thesis and the volume of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s work, it is difficult to examine the link between them further here; however, as in the case of al-Suhrawardī and other subsequent figures, the influence of al-Makkī on these renowned Sufis deserves more academic attention.

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī-i ma‘nawī*

One of the best-known Persian Sufi poets, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), also speaks highly of al-Makkī in his masterpiece, *Mathnawī-i ma‘nawī* (‘The Poems of Inner Meaning’). Iqbal argues that Rūmī must have read al-Sarrāj’s *Luma‘*, al-Kalābādhī’s *Ta‘arruf*, Hujwīrī’s *Kashf*, al-Makkī’s *Qūt* and al-Qushayrī’s *Risāla*,

¹ Cf. *EF*², s.v. (Ateş).

² Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, 165; 349 [index]. Al-Makkī is mentioned twice in the latter half of this edition, which contains an annotation of the text (*ibid.*, 227, 277). In the index of Austin’s translation, al-Makkī is indicated as appearing twice in the text; however, the first ‘Abū Ṭālib’ is the Prophet Muḥammad’s uncle Abū Ṭālib al-Muṭṭalib, not Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (*Bezels*, 161, 204; 291 [index]).

³ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, 165. Cf. Austin, who translates this part as ‘Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī called it the Throne of the Essence, since for Itself it determines the effectiveness of the divine decision’ (*Bezels*, 204). I could not locate the exact place where al-Makkī uses the word ‘*arsh al-dhāt*’ in the *Qūt*.

although not all of them are mentioned in the *Mathnawī*.¹ According to Iqbal, the *Qūt* is quoted five times.² However, apart from a place where the phrase ‘*qūt al-qulūb*’ clearly appears as a book title, the intention of the poet is not always obvious, because of the allusive nature of his edificatory masterpiece.

The verse where the *Qūt* is cited demonstrates Rūmī’s esteem for al-Makkī:³

Nine hundred years Noah (walked) in the straight way, and every day he had a new sermon to preach.

His ruby (lip) drew its eloquence from the corundum (precious jewel) in the hearts (of prophets): he had not read (mystical books like) the *Risāla* or the *Qútu ’l-qulūb*.

Another verse which might suggest the *Qūt* is:⁴

When the sucking (babe) is separated from its nurse, it becomes an eater of morsels and abandons her.

Thou, like seeds, art in bondage to the milk of earth: seek to wean thyself by (partaking of) the spiritual food (*qūt al-qulūb*).

As Nicholson states, it seems to be safe to argue that this verse refers to al-Makkī’s *Qūt*, not only because of the content, but also because Rūmī uses Arabic here.⁵

The next verse, on the other hand, shows a subtler allusion to the *Qūt* (if indeed there is one) than in the previous two examples:

Whether in the earth there are sugar-canes or only (common) reeds, every earth (soil) is interpreted by its plants.

Therefore the heart’s soil, whereof thought (*fīkr*) was (ever) the plant – (those) thoughts have revealed the heart’s secrets (*asrār-i dil*).⁶

According to Nicholson, this verse refers to al-Makkī’s classification of the ‘thoughts

¹ Iqbal, *Rumi*, 97-8.

² *Ibid.*, 99.

³ Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, trans. Nicholson, 6.404-5 (Book VI. 2652-3); cf. *idem*, ed. Nicholson, 6.423 [Persian] (the next four places will be also cited in this order). Nicholson introduces the *Qūt* as ‘an earlier and more extensive work’ on Sufism than the *Risāla* (*idem*, commented by Nicholson, 8.367). Amin quotes this part, but does not mention the other four places (Amin, 25). Schimmel also mentions the same part (*Dimensions*, 18).

⁴ 4.73 (III.1284-5); 3.73.

⁵ Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, commented by Nicholson, 8.35.

⁶ 4.345 (IV.1317-8); 4.356.

and impressions' (*khawāṭir*) which al-Makkī advises the novice to examine carefully;¹ however, the link between Rūmī and the *Qūt* does not appear to be so obvious here, compared to the first two examples.

Among the five places which Iqbal mentions, this third verse and the last two places, where Nicholson refers to a *ḥadīth* in the *Qūt* and al-Makkī's ideas,² seem to require a prolonged and laborious research in order to establish a proper connection between the two figures, since the link is not evident and such a task has to be done through internal evidence. Although there may be only one (or two) places in *Mathnawī* where Rūmī clearly refers to the *Qūt*, this is enough to see Rūmī's respect for the *Qūt*. This also indicates that the *Qūt* must have been so well known among (at least) Sufis at the time of Rūmī that the title could be used in a metaphorical way.

Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, *Laṭā'if al-minan*

The next figure to be examined is the third Shaykh of the Shādhiliyya order, Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh (d. 709/1309), and his work *Laṭā'if al-minan* ('The Subtle Blessings') which contains the words and deeds of the first and second sheikhs of the order Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) and Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Mursī (d. 686/1287). This matter does not seem to have been addressed

¹ Nicholson continues that, in Rūmī's view, every thought is a message from God to the mystic (Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, commented by Nicholson, 8.138). Al-Makkī discusses the *khawāṭir* in the *Qūt*, and Nicholson probably refers to this (1.324-6; see Ch. 4.2 [19]-[29]).

² 2.52 (I.927); 1.58, and 2.256 (III.4591); 3.263. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, commented by Nicholson, 7.77-8 and 8.116 respectively.

properly yet, but the *Qūt* is mentioned in this biographical work. Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh reports:¹

[Shaykh Abu’l-‘Abbās] used to say from his Shaykh Abu’l-Ḥasan: ‘A book, the *Iḥyā’*, brings you knowledge, and a book, the *Qūt*, brings you light’.²

He used to say from his Shaykh Abu’l-Ḥasan: ‘You must be with the *Qūt*, as it is indeed nourishment’.

Although these statements do not really express Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s opinion himself, it can be said that at least the first two Shaykhs of the Shādhiliyya order had a great respect for the *Qūt*. It is also interesting to see al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’* cited here in contrast to the *Qūt*. In modern scholarship, the link between these two works is often mentioned; however, this might be the first time they can be seen in close proximity in pre-modern literature.

Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī, *al-Rasā’il al-ṣuḡhrā*

The next Sufi writer to examine is Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390), from Islamic Spain, who contributed to the spread of the Shādhiliyya order in the Maghrib.³ Gramlich⁴ and Amin⁵ touch upon the link between al-Makkī and al-Rundī, and Nwyia, the editor of al-Rundī’s letters, mentions al-Makkī elsewhere in his work on al-Rundī.⁶ Al-Rundī recommends in his letter the writings of al-Muḥāsibī, al-Sulamī,

¹ Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, *Laṭā’if al-minan*, 72.

² Danner, who translated Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, lists the title of the books esteemed by the first two Shaykhs of al-Shādhiliyya, including the *Iḥyā’*, especially on the matter of ‘beliefs and practices’, and the *Qūt*, on ‘esoteric and exoteric beliefs’ (*Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, 11).

³ *ET*², s.v. (P. Nwyia).

⁴ *Nahrung*, 1.16-7.

⁵ Amin, 26.

⁶ See index des nom propres, Nwyia, *Ronda*, 261.

al-Qushayrī, al-Makkī, al-Ghazālī and al-Suhrawardī in order to understand Sufism.¹ Among them, al-Rundī shows great admiration for al-Makkī. Renard, who translated al-Rundī's letters into English, argues that al-Rundī esteems the *Qūt* as 'all-sufficient and irreplaceable',² and Nwyia states that al-Rundī started his study of Sufism with the *Qūt* when he was in Fez.³ However, a detailed examination of the works written by these two figures does not seem to have been carried out yet. This section therefore analyses several important examples in al-Rundī's *Rasā'il* to demonstrate how he values al-Makkī.⁴

Al-Rundī's letters show that the *Qūt* has met with his wholehearted approval. Letter 1 concerns questions arising from a chapter on fear (*khawf*) in the *Qūt*, where al-Rundī calls this treatise 'healing (*shāfi*)'.⁵ In Letter 2, al-Rundī claims that the *Qūt* is 'in every respect' the book to be read among the early writings on Sufism, because it will 'remove your maladies (*'ilal*)', 'heal your illness (*marad*)' and will lead you to 'every aim [you] seek (*gharḍ maṭlūb*)'.⁶ Al-Rundī gives similar praise in another place, where, this time, al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* is also the object of his admiration.⁷ Here he sets out a more detailed contrast between the *Qūt* and the *Ihyā'* than the brief statement of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh discussed above.

¹ *Rasā'il*, 78.

² Al-Rundī, *Ronda*, trans. Renard, 48.

³ *EL*², s.v. (P. Nwyia).

⁴ Cf. al-Rundī, *Ronda*, 231, 237 [indexes]. Although the second index includes p. 85, 'Abū Ṭālib' here seems to be the Prophet Muḥammad's uncle, not al-Makkī, judging from the context.

⁵ *Rasā'il*, 19 (Letter 1: 19-28). See Appendix III for a discussion of the confusion regarding this expression.

⁶ *Rasā'il*, 41.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 78-9.

In Letter 6, al-Rundī shows his special respect for the two ‘*imāms*’, al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī, among early writers on Sufism, saying that the two elucidate the ‘wonders of various types of knowledge (*gharā’ib al-‘ulūm*)’ and the ‘marvels of understanding (*‘ajā’ib al-fuhūm*)’ in their respective works¹ in a way that hearts (*ṣudūr*) will be delighted and matters made easy.² The novice should learn, al-Rundī continues, all the benefits in their books, which cannot be seen in any other work.³ However, al-Rundī finds al-Ghazālī’s work to contain issues which are difficult to comprehend and which disagree with *kalām* argumentation, even though al-Ghazālī ‘arranged [the materials] in sections, ... facilitated understanding, ... refined [them]’ and gathered information which had been scattered across many books.⁴ Al-Rundī specifies several chapters which he particularly believes to have this tendency, and advises that the reader should simply skip these parts.⁵

Al-Makkī, on the other hand, receives unconditional reverence from al-Rundī. Al-Rundī esteems al-Makkī’s book as the most recommended above all other writings: nothing else can substitute for it, not only because of its scope and arrangement, but also because of its ‘beautiful expressions (*al-alfāz al-ḥasana*)’, set out in a way which ‘attracts the ears’ and ‘delights the tongues’ in order to elucidate Sufism.⁶ Like his comments on al-Ghazālī, al-Rundī admits that al-Makkī sometimes discusses issues which are difficult to comprehend by rational

¹ Al-Rundī does not specify the title of their books here.

² *Rasā’il*, 78.

³ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

understanding (*'aqūl*) and do not fit the external science of the tradition (*ẓāhir al-'ilm al-manqūl*), because these are the author's own original thinking.¹

However, unlike the case of al-Ghazālī, al-Rundī advises the readers to leave these parts for a while, keep following the straight path (*al-manhaj al-qawīm*) and wait for God to 'open their gate'.² This seems to demonstrate al-Rundī's absolute trust in al-Makkī, since the former assumes the complete reliability of the latter's discussion even when it contains perplexing matters. To al-Rundī, these are truths, but it is simply too difficult for the novice to grasp their deeper meanings, as they are incomprehensible in the conventional way.

A similar approach can be seen when al-Rundī admits that the authenticity of *ḥadīth* which al-Makkī quoted is questionable. Al-Rundī gives full support to al-Makkī's argument that if a certain tradition has been circulated and does not contradict the Qur'ān or Sunna, it can be considered as authoritative material (*ḥujja*), in spite of its obscure *isnād*.³ Al-Rundī's defence of al-Makkī can also be seen in another place. In Letter 16, where he emphasises the importance of having a Shaykh as a guide on the Sufī path,⁴ al-Rundī admits that this sort of argument does not appear in the early writers' discourse, such as that of al-Muḥāsibī and al-Makkī.

However, he claims that the tendency to rely on a Shaykh almost as a parent, who nourishes his child (*shaykh al-tarbīt*),⁵ started later. At the time of these early

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 24. This is likely based on al-Makkī's statement in the *Qūt* (1.483-9).

⁴ *Rasā'il*, 130.

⁵ تربية : élever un enfant, un jeune homme (Kazimirski, 1.802); to feed, nourish, bring up (Lane,

figures, the role of a Shaykh was to instruct the novice (*shaykh al-ta'lim*), and having a spiritual guide was not a requirement. This is why the issues around the Shaykh cannot be found in the early writings. However, al-Rundī insists, they still cover the fundamental matters of Sufism, and this is especially true in the case of al-Makkī.¹

This statement is of interest not only in the light of the link between al-Makkī and al-Rundī. It shows al-Rundī's recognition of a change in the role of a Sufi Shaykh and his classification of the history of Sufism into early and later periods, with al-Makkī being in the early one. (Al-Rundī does not specify here when the later period begins.)

From these examples, it is evident that al-Makkī exerted great influence on al-Rundī. Apart from the *Rasā'il*, he wrote a commentary on Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's famous collection, *Kitāb al-ḥikam* ('The Book of Aphorisms'). The name al-Makkī does not seem to appear in the original work;² however al-Rundī refers to al-Makkī in his annotation.³ Al-Rundī's commentary was a great success. Although he himself did not become the leader of the Shādhiliyya order, its spread in the Maghrib owed much to this important Sufi Shaykh,⁴ and, as Renard states, al-Makkī's work serves as one of the key sources of inspiration in al-Rundī's thought.⁵

1.1008).

¹ *Rasā'il*, 131.

² Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, *Aphorisms*.

³ Al-Rundī, *Ghayth al-mawāhib al-'aliyya*, 1.89, 2.92.

⁴ Al-Rundī, *Ronda*, xi-xii; Nwyia, *Ronda*, xxxvii-xxxviii, lix-lx; *El²*, s.v. (P. Nwiya).

⁵ Renard argues that together with the writings of al-Muḥāsibī and al-Ghazālī, these three authors had great influence not only on al-Rundī, but also on the members of the Shādhiliyya order (al-Rundī, *Ronda*, 201 n. 1).

[Pseudo-]Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā' al-sā'il*

The next work on Sufism for discussion here is *Shifā' al-sā'il* ('Remedy for the Questioner'). This is allegedly written by the famous historian and philosopher, Walī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406). However, according to Talbi, its authenticity has not yet been proven.¹ The title *Qūt* appears in this treatise where the author enumerates literary works on piety, such as 'the *Iḥyā'*, the *Ri'āya*,² the *Qūt*, [the work of] Ibn 'Aṭā' and others'.³ Ibn Khaldūn's famous work *al-Muqaddima* ('The Introduction') has a section on Sufism, but neither al-Makkī nor the *Qūt* appears there.⁴ Together with the authenticity of the *Shifā'*, the link between al-Makkī and Ibn Khaldūn is not clear.

Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-uns*

Al-Makkī can next be seen in *Nafahāt al-uns* ('Breezes of Intimacy'), written by the Persian poet 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492).⁵ This work seems to be the first Sufi hagiography which includes a biographical sketch of al-Makkī and clearly identifies his connection with Sahl al-Tustarī and both father and son Ibn Sālim.⁶ It should also be mentioned that although Jāmī composed his treatise based on *Ṭabaqāt*

¹ *EL*², s.v. (M. Talbi).

² This likely designates al-Muḥāsibī's principal work, *al-Ri'āya li-ḥuqūq Allāh*.

³ [Pseudo-]Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā'*, 70. Amin refers to this work briefly and states that Ibn Khaldūn calls al-Makkī the *qāḍī* (Amin, 27). However, the person who is designated here might not be al-Makkī. It is written as 'the *qāḍī* Abū Muḥammad b. 'Aṭīyya said ...', when al-Makkī's name is Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyya and has been referred to so far as Abū Ṭālib or Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī in the Arabic writings ([pseudo-]Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā'*, 45).

⁴ Ibn Khallikān, *Muqaddima*, 370-6.

⁵ Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, 121.

⁶ For its translation, see Appendix I, iv.

al-ṣūfiyya ('Sufi Biographical Dictionaries') of a famous Ḥanbalī Sufi, 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1089), and 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkira*,¹ Jāmī adds al-Makkī, who is not included in the two works which the former consulted.

After Jāmī, al-Makkī does not appear so often: from the tenth-eleventh/sixteenth century to the modern period he is almost absent from the Muslim works on Sufism.² 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565), an Egyptian Sufi, does not have an entry dedicated to al-Makkī in his collection of Sufi words and deeds, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* ('The Major Classes'),³ although he was greatly influenced by the Shādhiliyya order.⁴

Straying a little from the field of Sufism, Nasr points out that Shīrāzī Ṣaḍr al-Dīn Muḥammad Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640), one of the most renowned Shī'ī philosophers, was deeply influenced by early Sufi writings, such as the *Qūt*, *Manāzil al-sā'irīn* ('Places of the Wanderers'),⁵ the 'Awārif, the *Iḥyā'*, the *Mathnawī*, the *Fuṣūṣ* and the *Futūḥāt*.⁶ Most of these books have been discussed in this section, and

¹ Cf. *EF*², s.v. 'Djāmī' (Cl. Huart); *Mysticism*, 138, 163.

² Gramlich, Amin and Shukri also failed to find books on Sufism which mention al-Makkī.

³ The available edition (Cairo, 1316/1898) does not include an index. However, al-Makkī does not appear in the contents, which is a list of names. In the future, it could be worth exploring the text, which might mention al-Makkī.

⁴ Cf. *EF*², s.v. (M. Winter); *Mysticism*, 252.

⁵ Written by Anṣārī.

⁶ Nasr states that Mullā Ṣadrā often quotes these writings, but he does not refer to any specific page numbers (*Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī*, 73-4). He also emphasises Mullā Ṣadrā's great acquaintance with al-Ghazālī's thought (*ibid.*, 81 n. 10). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to check all the books Mullā Ṣadrā compiled; however, e.g. in his commentary on *Hikmat al-ishrāq*, written by the famous philosopher Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191), Mullā Ṣadrā refers to Ibn al-'Arabī many times, and also mentions, although much less frequently, al-Ḥallāj, al-Ghazālī and Rūmī (*Le livre de la sagesse orientale*, see 677-80 [index des noms]). In his *tafsīr* of the Light verse, Mullā Ṣadrā again refers to many writers on Sufism, such as Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Ḥallāj and al-Ghazālī (*Hermeneutics of the Light-Verse*, see 163-7 [index]). Not only the matter of al-Makkī, but also the link between Mullā Ṣadrā and Sufism seems to deserve more academic attention, as Nasr suggests. In terms of al-Makkī, he does not appear in

this indicates al-Makkī's direct and indirect influence on Mullā Ṣadrā.

As can be seen from al-Suhrawardī onwards, many notable mystical authors show their great respect for al-Makkī. It is therefore puzzling why al-Makkī is not included in early Sufi hagiographical writings. It is possible that al-Makkī is not known to those compilers, or is known but considered as of lesser importance. However, such a conclusion seems implausible, considering the fact that al-Ghazālī started his study of Sufism with the *Qūt*, among other famous writings.¹ The intention of the earlier compilers is not still entirely clear; however, al-Makkī's entry in Jāmī's hagiography seems more explainable. After being cited in various important mystical works, al-Makkī must have established a reputation as a Sufi writer by the time of Jāmī. Al-Makkī's appearance in other types of writings might have had an influence on Jāmī's selection; however, this is no more than a hypothesis.

al-Maẓāhir al-ilāhiyya, *Kaṣr aṣnām al-jāhiliyya* or *Mashāʿir*. Some books have no index and require further research; for instance, *al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya*, *Falsafa-i ʿālī*, *Masnavī-i Mullā Ṣadrā* and *Risālah-i jabr wa tafwīd*.

¹ See Ch. 7.2.

CHAPTER 7:

AL-MAKKĪ AND HIS WORK IN MUSLIM SCHOLARSHIP,

FROM HIS TIME TO THE TWELFTH/EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, PART 2

7.1 ḤADĪTH LITERATURE WHICH MENTIONS AL-MAKKĪ

Among writers on Tradition, one of the earliest extant sources to mention al-Makkī is *Ta'riḫ Baghdad* ('The History of Baghdad'), written by Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071).¹ His short (but valuable) sketch of al-Makkī's life has often been cited by later authors.² From his account, it can be discerned that al-Khaṭīb is not particularly in favour of al-Makkī's thought; for instance, he states that al-Makkī writes 'objectionable and dishonourable matters (*munkara wa mustashna'*)' about God in the *Qūt*.³ Since no example is cited in his report of al-Makkī, it is not clear which aspects of the *Qūt* made al-Khaṭīb think this way. However, the frequent appearance of Ibn Ḥanbal in the *Qūt* would not have made a good impression on al-Khaṭīb, who was openly against the Ḥanbalīs.⁴

The Shāfi'ī historian and theologian al-Dhahabī compiled several works in the field of Tradition, as well as his many books on history, as discussed earlier. In his *Mīzān al-i'tidāl* ('The Scales of Justice'), al-Dhahabī enumerates more than eleven thousand *ḥadīth* authorities and presents al-Makkī as an ascetic (*zāhid*) and a

¹ *Ta'riḫ*, 3.89. Although the *Ta'riḫ* includes extensive biographical data, the work is compiled as a 'reference book for traditionists', providing information on *ḥadīth* transmitters (*EF*², s.v. (R. Sellheim)).

² See Appendix I, i for a full translation of the report about al-Makkī.

³ *Ta'riḫ*, 3.89.

⁴ He was originally a Ḥanbalī but became inclined towards al-Shāfi'ī (*EF*², s.v. (R. Sellheim)).

preacher (*wā'iz*).¹ His short account explains al-Makkī's main authorities for the narration of *ḥadīth*, and gives the name of a figure who transmitted *ḥadīth* from al-Makkī, in addition to some quotes from al-Khaṭīb's account of al-Makkī. No new information can be found here, but it should be mentioned that although al-Dhahabī mentions al-Makkī's devoutness, he cites al-Khaṭīb's negative opinion on the *Qūt* and al-Makkī's apparent problematic saying in this short report.

The account in the *Mīzān*, on the whole, gives the impression that the author possibly disapproves of al-Makkī. This diverges from the rather approving tone which al-Dhahabī adopts in his *Ta'rīkh*,² or the neutral statements in the *Ibar*³ as discussed above. The term 'Sufi' does not appear in the report in the *Mīzān*, unlike the accounts in his other two works, or the narrative in the *Siyar* which will be introduced next.

Al-Dhahabī's voluminous work on *ḥadīth* transmitters, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* ('Biographies of Noble Personalities'), contains a much longer account of al-Makkī than that in the *Mīzān*, although most information in the *Siyar* is almost the same as that in al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh*.⁴ Unlike in the latter, however, al-Makkī is clearly introduced as 'an *imām*, an ascetic, a knowledgeable person (*'ārif*) and a Sufi Shaykh', who was brought up in Mecca but was originally Persian (*'ajamī*).⁵

Al-Makkī's ascetic exercises are highlighted in the *Siyar*, as an episode is presented

¹ *Mīzān*, 3.655.

² Where he says that al-Makkī has 'a sweet tongue' in Sufism (*Ta'rīkh al-Islām* 381-400, 127-8). See above.

³ Al-Dhahabī, *Ibar*, 3.33-4.

⁴ *Idem*, *Siyar*, 16.536-7; cf. *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* 381-400, 127-8.

⁵ *Idem*, *Siyar*, 16.536.

in which his belly became green due to his limiting his diet to herbs.¹ Al-Dhahabī then quotes from al-Khaṭīb's *Ta'rīkh*, including al-Makkī's problematic saying, narrates his deathbed story and mentions his *ḥadīth* collection and his *ḥadīth* masters, as can be seen in al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh*.

Towards the end of the account in the *Siyar*, the fame of the *Qūt* is underlined. Notably, the heading of this report is 'the author of the *Qūt* (*ṣāhib al-Qūt*)', not al-Makkī or Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, while most headings in the *Siyar* are the name of a figure.² This verifies al-Dhahabī's statement about the *Qūt* being famous. The *Qūt* must have been sufficiently well known in the time of al-Dhahabī that he could expect his reader to identify al-Makkī simply by saying 'the author of the *Qūt*' (and not *Qūt al-qulūb*).

On the basis of the previous chapter's examination of his biographical works *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* and *al-'Ibar*, and the *Mīzān* and the *Siyar* in the present chapter, al-Dhahabī's opinion on al-Makkī is, on the whole, not entirely clear. In his work on weak *ḥadīth* transmitters, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* ('Memorial of the Qur'ān Masters'), al-Makkī is not listed.³ This might indicate that he does not consider al-Makkī as a transmitter of dubious Traditions, contrasting with Ibn al-Jawzī's criticism of

¹ *Ibid.*, 16.537. This story might be from an account in Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* (4.303), but it is not clear.

² Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 16.536. Al-Makkī is also introduced as 'the author of the *Qūt*' in the *Mīzān* (3.655).

³ This work has been supplemented many times; e.g. *Dhayl tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 763/1362), *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ bi-dhayl ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz* by Muḥammad al-Hāshimī al-Makkī (d. 871/1466) and *Dhayl ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Al-Makkī does not appear in the first two works at least, and probably not in the last one either (all three works are published in one volume; al-Ḥusaynī, *Dhayl tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*. Only the last work does not have an index in the available 1968 edition).

al-Makkī on this account. When al-Dhahabī touches upon al-Makkī's *ḥadīth* collection in the *Ta'rīkh* and the *Siyar*, he could have made negative comments on this compilation, since he stated that he had seen it. But he does not take a disapproving tone here; rather, he quotes a few Traditions from al-Makkī's collection. It may therefore be deduced that, in terms of a *ḥadīth* transmitter, al-Dhahabī does not find anything particularly unacceptable in al-Makkī's works.

As discussed above, the *Mīzān* gives the impression that al-Dhahabī has a negative opinion of al-Makkī. On the other hand, in the *Ta'rīkh*, al-Dhahabī makes a positive comment on al-Makkī's writing style on the subject of Sufism, and quotes al-Khaṭīb as in the *Mīzān*, but omits the latter's criticism of the *Qūt*.¹ Al-Dhahabī's views on al-Makkī are ambivalent: this may be due to his indefinite position on Sufism in general, and not particularly because of al-Makkī.

For instance, in an account of al-Muḥāsibī in the *Mīzān*, al-Dhahabī quotes a saying of Abū Zur'a who criticises al-Muḥāsibī's works for being innovative, erroneous and straying from the right path (*ḍalālāt*), and states that:²

Where is someone like al-Ḥārith [al-Muḥāsibī]? How then if Abū Zur'a saw the writings of the later authors, such as the *Qūt* of Abū Ṭālib [al-Makkī]. Where is something like the *Qūt*? How then if he saw *Bahjat al-asrār* of Ibn Jahḍam³ and *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr* of al-Sulamī; his

¹ There is a possibility that al-Dhahabī had not read al-Makkī's work himself when he wrote the *Mīzān*, where he mainly cites from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; but al-Dhahabī had become acquainted with al-Makkī before he compiled the *Ta'rīkh*, where he presented his own opinion. The *Ta'rīkh* was abridged by the author himself six times and the estimated end date of the compilation of this work therefore cannot be very late in his life. However, the timing of al-Dhahabī's writing is unknown and this issue cannot progress beyond hypothesis (cf. *ET*, s.v. (M. Bencheneb)).

² *Mīzān*, 1.431.

³ This figure might be a Meccan Sufi, 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Jahḍam al-Hamadhānī (d. 414/1023), who is considered to have played the key role in the development of Sufism in Andalusia (Fierro, "The Polemic about the "karāmāt al-awliyā"', 238 and n. 22).

mind would fly away.

Al-Dhahabī continues by enumerating al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'*, 'Abd al-Qādir's *al-Ghunya*, and Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futūḥāt* in the same vein, and then concludes that at the time of al-Muḥāsibī, there were 'a thousand *imāms*' in the field of *ḥadīth*, such as Ibn Ḥanbal.¹ This statement gives the impression that al-Dhahabī rejects these major authors on Sufism, and recommends the reader to study 'proper' (according to his estimation) *ḥadīth* scholars.²

However, in his account of the Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), al-Dhahabī says that although the work of this poet is something on which 'you [would] turn your back', he advises that you 'do not hasten [to judge]', but, rather, keep 'a good opinion of Sufism', since if you see what is behind the dress and symbolic expressions of mystics, Sufism will 'direct you to what is good'.³ This seems to conflict with the previous account above, since this statement shows al-Dhahabī's positive views of Sufis, even though he admits that their writings might be easily misunderstood. Examining his apparently contradictory narratives on al-Makkī, and his sayings on the writers on Sufism and his opinion on mysticism, it appears to be difficult to make general observations about al-Dhahabī's position on al-Makkī or Sufism.

¹ *Mīzān*, 1.431.

² It is probably this statement to which al-Suyūṭī respond and claims that al-Dhahabī's comment is misleading, as he 'murmurs against Imām Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb [al-Rāzī]', against the one who is 'greater than the Imām', namely 'Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, the author of *The Nourishment of Hearts*', and against the one who is 'greater than Abū Ṭālib', namely 'Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī'. Finally, al-Suyūṭī announces that al-Dhahabī's statement is 'not accepted regarding them' (al-Laknawī, *al-Raf' wa'l-takmīl*, 131-2).

³ *Mīzān*, 3.214-5.

The last author in this section is the Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449). He was inspired by al-Dhahabī and compiled a voluminous book entitled *Lisān al-mīzān* (‘The Discourse of the Scales’), where Ibn Ḥajar reworked al-Dhahabī’s *Mīzān*. As explained at the beginning of the *Lisān*, Ibn Ḥajar first introduces an account in the *Mīzān*, whose end is indicated as ‘concluded (*intahā*)’, and then his own words are presented.¹ This is the case with the account of al-Makkī, the first part of which is an exact copy of the report in the *Mīzān*.

Ibn Ḥajar then adds useful information about al-Makkī’s teachers, namely ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far b. Fāris (d. 346/957) and Abū Zayd al-Marwazī (d. 372/982).² The former authorised al-Makkī to transmit *ḥadīth* and the latter taught him *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.³ Ibn Ḥajar mentions al-Makkī’s *ḥadīth* collection, possibly drawing his information from al-Dhahabī’s *Ta’rīkh* and/or *Siyar*,⁴ and he states that al-Makkī belonged to the ‘*madhhab* of Abu’l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim’, which could be a citation from al-Dhahabī’s *Ibar*.⁵ Since the *Mīzān* contains negative comments about al-Khaṭīb, as discussed above, this colours the tone of the narrative of the *Lisān*, where Ibn Ḥajar does not add anything particularly positive about al-Makkī. On the whole, although his report of al-Makkī offers some useful information, it is

¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, 1.98.

² *Ibid.*, 5.297-8; cf. *Mīzān*, 3.655.

³ See Introduction: The Life of al-Makkī. Ibn Ḥajar reports the latter’s name as Ibn Zayd al-Marwazī; however, from the context, Ibn Ḥajar seems to have meant the Shāfi‘ī scholar Abū Zayd al-Marwazī (De Slane, 2.613-4; Amin, 3). It is not clear from where Ibn Ḥajar obtained the names of the two teachers of al-Makkī, as he did not trouble to specify the precise sources.

⁴ Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām 381-400*, 128; *Siyar*, 16.537.

⁵ *Idem*, *Ibar*, 3.34.

presented in a simple practical manner and does not convey the compiler's own opinion on al-Makkī.¹

7.2 OTHER RELIGIOUS WORKS WHICH MENTION AL-MAKKĪ

Ibn al-Farrā', *al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*

This last section looks at six authors whose works do not fall easily into the previous categories of biographical, Sufi or *ḥadīth* literature. Dating back to the eleventh century, the first author to consider is the Ḥanbalī scholar Qāḍī Abū Ya'īā Muḥammad Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066). His book, *al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* ('What is Approved amongst the Principles of Religion'), seems to be the earliest extant source which mentions al-Makkī.² This work is an abridgement of his own compilation with the same title, and deals with the major *kalām* arguments, such as the existence of God, Divine attributes and names, God's will and speech, reason (*'aql*), and the inimitability (*i'jāz*) of the Qur'ān. Ibn al-Farrā' also discusses

¹ At the end of the account, Ibn Ḥajar states that 'al-Nadīm mentioned him in *Muṣannaft al-Mu'tazila*'; however, it is not clear to whom and to which work Ibn Ḥajar refers. Neither the name of the author nor the title appears in *GAL* or *GAS*. Kaḥḥāla lists two figures under the name of 'al-Nadīm': Muḥammad al-Nadīm Abu'l-Faraj al-Baghdādī (d. 438/1047) and Muḥammad al-Nadīm al-'Ikbarī (?) [العكبري] (d. 473/1080) (*Mu'jam*, 9.41, 11.190). Not much information is offered regarding the latter, apart from a brief statement that he was a *ḥadīth* narrator and a *ḥāfiẓ*. As for the former, he is introduced as the author of *al-Fihrist*, and many biographical dictionaries are listed including *GAL* (SI.226-7). The relevant account in the *GAL* is Ibn Ishāq Ibn al-Nadīm, who compiled the famous *Fihrist* and died in 385/995. Despite some confusion (both the name, al-Nadīm or Ibn al-Nadīm, and the death year), according to Fück, Ibn Ḥajar makes use of the *Fihrist*, and it may be possible that he is referring to Ibn al-Nadīm in an account of al-Makkī in the *Lisān* (*EF*², s.v. (J.W. Fück)). However, Ibn al-Nadīm does not seem to have composed a book on the Mu'tazilites (*ibid.*). Although there is a section on them in the *Fihrist*, al-Makkī does not appear there or anywhere in this work (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 201-27 [on al-Mu'tazila], 22-164 [index]). On the whole, it is not clear what Ibn Ḥajar means in his statement. Neither Amin nor Gramlich, who quotes the *Lisān*, explores this issue (Amin, 3; *Nahrung*, 1.11, 20).

² See Appendix I.

al-Sālimiyya and the Imamate, and he ends the book with an interpretation of *kalām* terminologies.¹ This work sheds a different light on the link between al-Makkī and al-Sālimiyya.

Al-Mu'tamad shows the incorporation of *kalām* into Ḥanbalite dogma,² although the attitudes of Ibn al-Farrā' towards *kalām* theologians, especially the Ash'arites, are not always clear.³ However, his critical attitude towards the Mu'tazilites and al-Sālimiyya is evident. One of his lost works includes refutations of the latter⁴ and the *Mu'tamad* contains a chapter on this mystico-theological school, where the author enumerates eighteen items from its dogmas which he disproves one by one.⁵

Al-Makkī appears five times in the *Mu'tamad*, but Ibn al-Farrā' does not quote him in the section on the Sālimiyya school, and the book shows no obvious link between al-Makkī and the school. Gramlich also highlights this point and argues that it is questionable to criticise al-Makkī for his association with the alleged heretical teachings of al-Sālimiyya. After comparing four propositions of Ibn al-Farrā' against al-Sālimiyya with al-Makkī's views of each of these in the *Qūt*,

¹ *Mu'tamad*, 11-12 [Arabic]; cf. 13, 27-8 [Arabic].

² Apparently for the first time among the disciples of Ibn Ḥanbal. According to Haddad, the editor, this work could dispel 'the myth of Hanbalite uniformity and anti-rationalism' (*ibid.*, 28 [introduction]).

³ According to Haddad, Ibn Taymiyya, who often quotes Ibn al-Farrā', criticises him for accepting Ash'arite views; however, Ibn al-Farrā' refutes them in his lost work (as do others, such as the Karrāmiyya, Bāṭiniyya and Sālimiyya). The Ash'arites then refute Ibn al-Farrā' and accuse him of being anthropomorphist. The *Mu'tamad* includes refutations of the Mu'tazilites, as well as of extreme Shī'ites (*ibid.*, 21, 25 [introduction]; *ET*², s.v. (H. Laoust)).

⁴ *Mu'tamad*, 25.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 217-21 [Arabic]. A translation of these eighteen propositions can be found in *Vision*, 94-5. Twelve of these are cited in *Ghunya*, 1.106-7.

Gramlich tries to point out how the former misunderstands the ideas of the Sālimiyya. Gramlich concludes that its heresy is the product of its adversaries, and that the negative comments by al-Khaṭīb on the *Qūt* should be interpreted in the same way.¹

Since Gramlich does not examine how and when al-Makkī makes his presence in the *Mu'tamad*, this will be briefly discussed here. Ibn al-Farrā' includes the eulogy 'may God have mercy upon him (*raḥimahu Allāhu 'anhu*)' every time he quotes al-Makkī, and mentions the *Qūt* when he first cites al-Makkī in a chapter on the scales (*mīzān*).² Here Ibn al-Farrā' explains the scales, which God sets up on the Last Day, and cites a passage from the *Qūt* where al-Makkī describes the accuracy of the scales, which can weigh 'motes and mustard seeds' and easily differentiate good from evil.³ Al-Makkī next appears in a chapter on the path (*ṣirāṭ*) which leads to hell.⁴ Ibn al-Farrā' quotes al-Makkī in support of his argument, drawing almost *verbatim* from the *Qūt*.⁵

Ibn al-Farrā' again relies on al-Makkī's views in a chapter concerning revivification (*iḥyā'*) of the deceased in their graves.⁶ In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī affirms the reality of this and claims that suffering will visit the disobedient, while felicity will come to the obedient; in either case, this occurs not only physically but it affects the soul (*rūḥ*) and the self (*nafs*).⁷ Fourthly, al-Makkī appears in a chapter on

¹ In Böwering's translation above, Gramlich examines nos. 2, 5, 16 and 18 with relevant views in the *Qūt* (*Nahrung*, 1.15-16).

² *Mu'tamad*, 175 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.* Almost exactly the same phrase can be seen in *Qūt*, 3.1276.

⁴ *Mu'tamad*, 176-7 [Arabic].

⁵ *Qūt*, 3.1276.

⁶ *Mu'tamad*, 178 [Arabic].

⁷ *Qūt*, 3.1276; for al-Makkī's views of *nafs* and *rūḥ*, see, e.g. Ch. 4.2 [21]-[22].

paradise and hell in the *Mu'tamad*, where, again, the author supports his argument with al-Makkī's words, which include a quote from Sahl al-Tustarī.¹ Al-Makkī states here that companions close to God (*muqarrabūn*) enter heaven without a reckoning (*ḥisāb*), while unbelievers (*kuffār*) go to hell without it and he cites a saying of Sahl al-Tustarī regarding the Final Judgment. Ibn al-Farrā' copies this passage almost word for word, except that he omits 'our imām' before the name of al-Tustarī.²

Al-Makkī last appears in the *Mu'tamad* in a chapter on repentance, where the author has a section concerning a basin (*ḥawḍ*) which the Prophet Muḥammad holds for believers before entering heaven.³ The same story can be seen in the *Qūt*, which states that the liquid in the basin is 'whiter than milk' and 'sweeter than honey', and after drinking it, believers will never be thirsty again.⁴

As can be seen, al-Makkī is found in five different chapters in the *Mu'tamad*; however, all these citations appear almost consecutively in Section 34 of the *Qūt* regarding Islam and belief. Whether Ibn al-Farrā' read the other parts of the book, we do not know. Apart from the fourth case, where he cites a saying of Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Makkī's words are always followed by an expression, 'contrary to the Mu'tazilites who are in denial of this'. Ibn al-Farrā' verifies al-Makkī's statements by either quoting from the Qur'ān (for the first four cases) or the *ḥadīth* (for the last

¹ *Mu'tamad*, 186 [Arabic].

² *Qūt*, 3.1277. Ibn al-Farrā' says: 'Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tustarī – may God have mercy upon him – used to say...', when al-Makkī says 'our imām Abū Muḥammad – may God Most High have mercy upon him – used to say...'.

³ *Mu'tamad*, 206 [Arabic].

⁴ *Qūt*, 3.1276-7. Note that this story does not appear in the Qur'ān; see below.

case).¹ This seems to demonstrate that Ibn al-Farrā' not only agrees with al-Makkī, but also uses him to refute the Mu'tazilites.

At least in the *Mu'tamad*, this Ḥanbalī theologian does not suggest any connection between al-Makkī and al-Sālimiyya. This is evidenced by the fact that the author does not mention al-Makkī in the chapter on refutations of this school, and further evidenced by the disagreement between the propositions of Ibn al-Farrā' against al-Sālimiyya and al-Makkī's views in the *Qūt*, which Gramlich highlights. It might also be worth mentioning that Sahl al-Tustarī appears only once in the *Mu'tamad*, in the citation from al-Makkī which we have just seen, without any reference to al-Sālimiyya. On the whole, this work indicates no obvious relation between this group and al-Tustarī or al-Makkī.

Besides the lack of association of al-Makkī with al-Sālimiyya, Ibn al-Farrā' does not suggest any connection between al-Makkī and Sufism either. All the citations from the *Qūt* in the *Mu'tamad* are about after death, the Last Day, the Hereafter and heaven and hell. This gives the impression that the *Qūt* is a book on ethics in which its author preaches on moral conduct in this world in the manner of a warning. The attitude of Ibn al-Farrā' towards Sufism is not clear, as he does not seem to have compiled anything regarding it;² however, whatever his attitude may be, it seems certain that Ibn al-Farrā' does not relate al-Makkī to this phenomenon. In

¹ The story of Muḥammad's basin does not appear in the Qur'ān and Ibn al-Farrā' quotes other Traditions to support al-Makkī's saying.

² Cf. *Mu'tamad*, 13-28 [introduction]. It might be also worth considering that Ibn al-Farrā' does not quote either al-Sarrāj or al-Kalābādhī, whose works are definitely about Sufism, as their titles suggest.

al-Mu'tamad, the latter is depicted as a pious Muslim author, to whom the former gives respect.

Apart from Gramlich, nobody else seems to have examined this topic. As well as shedding further light on al-Makkī, careful research on Ibn al-Farrā' might be able to give some insight into the received view that the Ḥanbalites are determinedly against mystics and their writings.

Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*;

al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl

The next author to examine in this section is Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who composed the massive work, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* ('The Revivification of the Religious Sciences'). Al-Makkī's influence on al-Ghazālī is well known, with Brockelmann describing the *Qūt* as the 'main source (Hauptquelle)' of the *Iḥyā'*.¹ Al-Ghazālī quotes al-Makkī many times in his *magnum opus*² and also clearly states in *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl* ('The Deliverer from Error') that he used al-Makkī's *Qūt* when he studied Sufism.³

In this 'autobiographical' book, al-Ghazālī compares four groups of 'seekers (*tālibūn*)' in Islam: the *kalām* theologians, the *Bāṭiniyya*, the philosophers and the Sufis.⁴ He then decides that the Sufī way of life is the best among them in order to

¹ GAL, SI.359.

² E.g. *Iḥyā'*, 1.15, 117, 3.81 *et passim*.

³ *Munqidh*, 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

attain the truth. After critically analyzing the first three groups of seekers, al-Ghazālī moves on to Sufis and lists the books which he has read for his study of Sufism: al-Makkī's *Qūt*, the writings of al-Muḥāsibī, al-Junayd, al-Shiblī, al-Bisṭāmī and others (in this order).¹

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, *al-Ghunya li-ṭālibī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq*

The next work in this section is *al-Ghunya li-ṭālibī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq* (‘What is Adequate for the Student of the Path to the Truth’), written by the Ḥanbalī Sufi Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166). This paradigmatic book became a favourite Muslim manual for ‘Ḥanbalīs, Sufis and non-Sufis alike’.² The author is not only a Ḥanbalite writer on mysticism, following his famous predecessor, Anṣārī, but also gave his name to the first known Sufi order, al-Qādiriyya. The *Ghunya* treats all sorts of religious issues,³ and the link between al-Makkī and ‘Abd al-Qādir has been mentioned by al-Raḍwānī, Braune and Knysh, though not in depth.

Al-Raḍwānī briefly refers to the influence of the *Qūt* on the *Ghunya*.⁴

Braune mentions that Ibn Taymiyya criticises certain litanies in the *Ghunya*, which are taken from the *Qūt*. However, no source is specified, and it is not clear where Ibn

¹ *Ibid.*, 64-5. Since the connection between al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī has been studied (see Ch. 2.1), this issue will not be examined further in this section.

² *Mysticism*, 181.

³ From rules of conduct (*ādāb*) (*Ghunya*, 1.14-56), Muslims’ obligations, e.g. fasting (1.6-7; regarding the month of Ramaḍān, 2.2-24), pilgrimage (1.8-14), almsgiving (1.5-6) and prayer (esp. 1.203-5, 2.110-50, 159-67) and eschatological issues, e.g. heaven and hell (1.166-80), to internal matters, e.g. the characteristics of the heart, soul and the self (1.112-14), and the Devil (esp. 1.109-12, 114).

⁴ *Qūt*, 1.18, 16.

Taymiyya states this nor which particular prayers he frowns upon in the *Ghunya* and the *Qūt*.¹ Knysh adds to this point and states that some Ḥanbalī scholars underline the similarities between the two books.² He claims that a model for the *Ghunya* is the *Qūt*, except for a section on suspicious groups, including al-Sālimiyya.³ Here again, however, no reference is identified, and it is unknown to us which Ḥanbalites Knysh meant or how he came to the conclusion that the ‘source of inspiration’ for ‘Abd al-Qādir is the *Qūt*.⁴

Although these brief statements exist, a close comparison between the texts of al-Makkī and ‘Abd al-Qādir does not seem to have been carried out. This section therefore studies a chapter on the heart in the *Ghunya* which bears a striking resemblance to some passages in the *Qūt*.

‘Abd al-Qādir states that the heart has six impulses (*khawāṭir*); they are from the self (*nafs*), the Devil, soul (*rūḥ*), angels, reason (*‘aql*) and certainty (*yaqīn*).⁵ He explains that the first two belong to desires, the next two are related to the truth, that reason can work for either, and that certainty is the essence of belief. This is

¹ *EL*², s.v. (W. Braune). Prayers are treated in numerous places in the *Ghunya* and the *Qūt*, and it is difficult to trace.

² *Mysticism*, 181-2.

³ As mentioned above, this is the section where ‘Abd al-Qādir copies most of the list of Ibn al-Farrā’ (*Ghunya*, 106-7); cf. *Mu‘tamad*, 217-21.

⁴ *Mysticism*, 181. As he discusses here, apart from a section on heretical sects, the topics of *al-Ghunya* are the same sorts of issues as al-Makkī covers in the *Qūt*, although the latter also explains more mystical matters, e.g. religious stations and states. Al-Ghazālī also deals with similar religious subjects in his *Iḥyā’*, although the arrangement of these three books is different. It might be worth exploring the similarities and differences among them.

⁵ *Ghunya*, 1.113-4. Aīnī summarises this section in his analysis of ‘Abd al-Qādir and translates *khawāṭir* as ‘suggestions’, and *nafs* as ‘âme bestiale’, and *rūḥ* as ‘âme’ (*Grand saint*, 163-5; note that he does not mention al-Makkī here).

exactly what al-Makkī states in the *Qūt*¹ and it seems that ‘Abd al-Qādir is summarising his words, apart from the explanation of the concept of reason, where the passages in the *Qūt* are copied almost word for word.²

In the following section, ‘Abd al-Qādir explains the concepts of the self and soul in more detail, as these are the ‘places to find the angel and the Devil’, and he depicts the characteristics of the heart as including ‘two types of shining light; these are knowledge and belief’, which are the ‘instruments of the heart and its senses’.³ This looks like a summary of al-Makkī’s passage in the *Qūt*, with some near-*verbatim* lines.⁴

‘Abd al-Qādir does not always specify the precise sources upon which he drew in compiling the *Ghunya*, and these have to be identified on the basis of internal evidence.⁵ Nothing definite can therefore be claimed; however, as Demeerseman demonstrates, ‘Abd al-Qādir shows familiarity with early Sufis and Sufi terminologies,⁶ and it would not be too absurd to argue that he has acquainted

¹ *Qūt*, 1.324-6 (see Ch. 4.2 [19]-[28]). ‘Abd al-Qādir changes the term ‘enemy (‘*adū*)’ to ‘Devil (*shayṭān*)’.

² *Ghunya*, 1.113 (lines 8-13); *Qūt*, 1.325 (lines 4-11).

³ *Ghunya*, 1.114.

⁴ *Ibid.* (lines 4-9); *Qūt*, 1.324 (lines 6-12). ‘Abd al-Qādir again changes the term ‘enemy (‘*adū*)’ to ‘Devil (*shayṭān*)’. This section appears just before the explanation of the six impulses in the *Qūt*, while ‘Abd al-Qādir arranges them the other way round.

⁵ E.g. he does not mention al-Makkī’s name in the sections on the heart, which we have just seen, nor does he refer to his fellow Ḥanbalī scholar, Ibn al-Farrā’, even though ‘Abd al-Qādir seems to have copied the latter’s work regarding al-Sālimiyya.

⁶ Demeerseman examines three works of ‘Abd al-Qādir (*al-Ghunya*, *al-Faṭḥ al-rabbānī*, *Futūḥ al-ghayb*) and enumerates fifteen Sufis, whose names ‘Abd al-Qādir mentions in his writings, as an example to demonstrate his thorough knowledge of Sufism: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya, Abū Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyāḍ, Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Dhu’l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, al-Shiblī, Sārī al-Saqāṭī, Abū Ḥafs b. Salāma, Sahl al-Tustarī, Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ and Abu’l-Qāsim al-Junayd (*Nouveau regard*, 13-17). Demeerseman also studies ‘Abd al-Qādir’s command of Sufi terms (*ibid.*, 18-19).

himself with al-Makkī's work. Together with the points which Braune and Knysch made concerning Ibn Taymiyya and some other Ḥanbalī scholars, there seems to be no shortage of areas on which to base research on the connection between al-Makkī and 'Abd al-Qādir.

Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*;

Talqīḥ fuhūm ahl al-athar

Ibn al-Jawzī shows more complex sentiments towards Sufism than does 'Abd al-Qādir, who does not seem to have any difficulty in being both a mystic and a Ḥanbalī.¹ We have already seen two writings of Ibn al-Jawzī: *al-Muntaẓam* in the section on biographical literature and the *Ṣifa* among works on Sufism. Two more compilations will be examined here.

The first work is *Talbīs Iblīs*, which is considered to be a typical 'Ḥanbalī polemic' where the author presents strong arguments against numerous sects and figures.² According to Laoust, Ibn al-Jawzī claims that these groups and individuals are to be condemned for having introduced innovative ideas, and his criticisms include Sufi writers, especially al-Makkī, al-Ghazālī and al-Qushayrī.³ Amin follows this line and states that Ibn al-Jawzī criticises al-Makkī for his use of weak Traditions, as can be found in the *Muntaẓam*.⁴ This seems to be a fair comment in the light of a

¹ Cf. *EF*², s.v. (W. Braune).

² *EF*², s.v. (H. Laoust).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Amin, 23.

passage in the section on Sufism in the *Talbīs*, where Ibn al-Jawzī states:¹

Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī composed *The Nourishment of Hearts* for [the Sufis] wherein he referred to invalid (*bāṭila*) Traditions and that which is based on no authority in relation to prayers² for days and nights, and other topics. He [also] mentioned in it false doctrine, and constantly used a phrase, ‘some of those who have been unveiled³ said’, but this is an empty expression (*kalām fārigh*). He quoted in [his book] from some Sufis that God – may He be praised and glorified – reveals Himself in this world to those who are close to Him (*awliyā*’).

Ibn al-Jawzī then quotes an account from al-Khaṭīb’s *Ta’rīkh*, including the latter’s negative comments on the *Qūt* and al-Makkī’s apparent problematic utterance.⁴

In a section of *Talbīs* on ascetics (*zuhhād*), Ibn al-Jawzī also mentions al-Makkī:⁵

Absolute abstention (*kaff*) is an error. Note this, as attention should not be paid to the saying of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, concerning what they said about reduction of food and the fight against the self by refraining from what is permissible for it.

Both passages reject al-Makkī’s views and methods, and the sections on asceticism

¹ *Talbīs*, 164-5. The whole book (apart from Sections 1-3) is translated into English by Margoliouth (“The Devil’s Delusion”). (The translation here is done by the present author.)

² صلوات : Margoliouth renders this as ‘fastings’, but this might be because of a different edition which is used by the translator; *ibid.* (Jan, 1935), 3 [the 1340/1921-2 edition is used here; whereas the available edition was published in 1368/1948-9]. For a translation of the passage above, see *ibid.*, (Jul, 1936), 356.

³ مكاشفون : Amin also translates the same passage but leaves this term as ‘*mukāshifūn*’ (Amin, 23), while Margoliouth renders it as ‘those favoured with revelations’ (“The Devil’s Delusion” (Jul, 1936), 356). Although Ibn al-Jawzī states that al-Makkī often uses this word, I could not find a place so far. (Rather, it seems that al-Makkī more frequently uses the phrases: ‘one of those who have gnosis (*‘ārifūn*) said’ (*Qūt*, 1.334, 341, 343, 2.509, etc.) and ‘one of those who have knowledge (*‘ulamā*) said’ (*Qūt*, 1.335, 340, 363, 2.505, 509, 521 etc.)). The context of the passage where the term مكاشفون is used is therefore not clear; however, this might be a passive article, i.e. *mukāshafūn*, not active as Amin suggests, since this term seems to designate those whose veil has been lifted by God. (Cf. *mukāshif*: revealer (Lane, 2.3001).) Although the *Qūt* does not have a section on unveiling (*mukāshafa*), al-Makkī states that revelation enables believers to see and find God (*Qūt*, 1.347), and *mukāshafūn* appears to be those who have received it. Note that the term *mukāshafa* is explained by Hujwīrī as ‘the presence of the spirit (*sirr*) in the domain of actual vision (*‘iyān*)’ in comparison with the concept *muḥādara* (*Kashf*, 373). Al-Qushayrī has a chapter on *muḥādara*, *mukāshafa* and *mushāhada* (*Risāla*, 75-6).

⁴ Cf. *Ta’rīkh*, 3.89.

⁵ *Talbīs*, 152.

and Sufism in general give the impression of total rejection by Ibn al-Jawzī on both accounts.¹

However, a careful examination of his apparently strong arguments should shed a different light on the aim of his series of attacks. For instance, Ibn al-Jawzī quotes al-Junayd who said that Sufism is about ‘departing from every vicious quality and entering into every sublime quality’, and Ruwaym² who claimed that all people count on impressions (*rusūm*), except Sufis who observe realities (*ḥaqā’iq*).³ Ibn al-Jawzī then argues that Sufis were originally in this sort of state, but the Devil deceived them and their followers.⁴ These early Sufis are also observed to have once been agreed that ‘reliance is to be on the Book and *sunna*’; however, the Devil managed to delude them⁵ because of their ignorance.⁶

Ibn al-Jawzī often uses expressions such as ‘the Devil’s deceit to the ascetics’,⁷ saying that the basic technique of the Devil for deluding Sufis is that he ‘diverted them from knowledge’⁸ and that most of the time the Devil misleads worshippers and ascetics by ‘secret dissimulation (*riyā’*)’.⁹ As the title of this book,

¹ For example, Ibn al-Jawzī states that some Sufis, who are induced by hunger into ‘false fantasies’ and declare that they are ‘madly in love (*ḥaymān*)’ with God, are in ‘between unbelief and innovation’ (*ibid.*, 164). He criticises al-Sulamī for interpreting the Qur’ān freely, al-Sarrāj for presenting repulsive doctrine (*ibid.*) and al-Ghazālī for citing invalid Traditions (*ibid.*, 166).

² Probably Abū Muḥammad Ruwaym b. Aḥmad; see, e.g. *Kashf*, 135-6.

³ *Talbīs*, 163. This distinction between images and reality is similar to Plato’s famous allegory of the cave, where people believe that the shadows on the wall are reality.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁶ Presumably Ibn al-Jawzī means ignorance of the *sunna*, Islam and Traditions. He mentions this, after criticising major writers on Sufism, as the reason for their compilation (*ibid.*, 166).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

Talbīs Iblīs,¹ clearly indicates, this work is about the deception of the Devil. Ibn al-Jawzī states at the beginning that he decided to compose this book in the way of ‘warning against temptation of [the Devil]’ in order to remove his deception.² As discussed earlier, Ibn al-Jawzī talks in his *Ṣifa* about the Prophet and his Companions with admiration for their high level of ‘knowledge (*‘ilm*), renunciation (*zuhd*) and worship (*ta‘abbud*)’.³ Three chapters in the *Talbīs* concern the ways in which the Devil deceives those possessing these three qualities.⁴ This could show that what Ibn al-Jawzī intends to demonstrate and refute in the *Talbīs* is not knowledge, asceticism or even worship *per se*, but the deceptions that can be perpetrated based upon them.

On the whole, it seems plausible to take at face value what Ibn al-Jawzī says in the introduction of the *Talbīs*, and what he chose for the title of his book, and assume that the target of his attacks are innovative ideas, deceptions and frauds by people who mistakenly believe that they have obtained a certain quality when they have not. This is because the Devil managed to confuse them, owing to their ignorance and/or wrong information.

It should also be mentioned that Ibn al-Jawzī is probably a ‘*laudator temporis acti*’ (someone who praises the past), one who shows great respect for ascetics and Sufis in earlier times but is hostile towards their successors who, he

¹ According to Margoliouth, the title is taken from al-Ghazālī who was thinking of composing a similar type of book, despite the fact that Ibn al-Jawzī criticises him severely (“The Devil’s Delusion” (Jan, 1935), 2).

² *Talbīs*, 4-5.

³ *Ṣifa*, 88.

⁴ *Talbīs*, ch. 6 (*‘ulamā’*), ch. 8 (worshippers (*‘abbād*)) and ch. 9 (ascetics (*zuhhād*)).

believes, have deviated from the original path.¹ This can be, for instance, seen in his division of the first Sufis from later Sufis, as mentioned above, and the fact that the former group seems to meet with his approval.²

It may therefore be deduced that Ibn al-Jawzī does not reject Sufism itself. It is its delusions that he refuses. The same reasoning could well be applicable to the case of al-Makkī. Ibn al-Jawzī rebuts al-Makkī in the *Talbīs*, but this does not necessarily mean that the author rejects him completely. It seems more likely that what Ibn al-Jawzī criticises are certain aspects of al-Makkī's views and manners which are manifest in the *Qūt*, but not the whole book or al-Makkī himself.

This hypothesis can be further examined through looking at another book of Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talqīḥ fuhūm ahl al-athar*, where he uses al-Makkī's ideas. This issue is referred to briefly in an article on *ṭabaqāt* in the *EL*;³ however, there seems to be no other discussion about this. In the *Talqīḥ*, Ibn al-Jawzī lists chronologically and alphabetically the people of Tradition who appear in notable books of history and biographies.⁴ The last chapter of this book is entitled the 'classes (*ṭabaqāt*) of this community', where the author introduces a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, reported by Anas b. Mālik (d. 91-3/709-11):⁵

The classes of my community are of five generations. Each class of them is forty years. My generation and the generation of my

¹ Margoliouth, "The Devil's Delusion" (Jan, 1935), 3.

² Ibn al-Jawzī also quotes a saying that Satan used to 'meet people and teach them' but now he 'meets them and learns from them' (*Talbīs*, 38).

³ *EL*², s.v. (Cl. Gilliot).

⁴ Although Brockelmann lists the *Talqīḥ* in the category of 'Universalgeschichte', it might be more appropriate to classify the book as 'Biographie' or 'Ḥadīṭ' (*GAL*, 1.662, SI.915).

⁵ *Talqīḥ*, 714.

Companions are the people of knowledge and belief. Those who follow them up to eighty [years] are the people of piety and fear of God. Those who follow them up to 120 years are the people of compassion and connection (*tawāṣil*). Those who follow them up to 160 years are the people who separate from each other and stand back to back. Those who follow them up to 200 years are the people who [enter the state of] disorder and war.

Ibn al-Jawzī states that this Tradition is handed down from al-Makkī. The same *ḥadīth* can be found in the *Qūt*, but it stops after reaching the people 120 years after the Prophet's generation.¹

After introducing this Tradition, Ibn al-Jawzī examines other versions and argues that al-Makkī is the only person who divides each generation, based on this *ḥadīth* of Anas, into five groups and classifies notable Muslims into each. These five are: caliphs, jurists, *ḥadīth* experts, Qur'ān reciters and ascetics. It is stated that al-Makkī categorises these five *ṭabaqāt*, each of which is forty years, up to his time. Ibn al-Jawzī then follows his example and enumerates fourteen generations with five classes, which ends with the year 560/1164-7, Ibn al-Jawzī having died in 597/1200.²

When considering only the *Talqīh*, one would not guess that in other writings the author criticises al-Makkī's use of weak Traditions, since, in the *Talqīh*, Ibn al-Jawzī shows his trust in the *ḥadīth* which al-Makkī passed down³ and even adopts his grouping as a model. Ibn al-Jawzī does not specify the title of al-Makkī's book from which the former cites the Tradition of Anas. There is a possibility that

¹ This is probably because al-Makkī uses this Tradition in order to confirm the importance of knowledge, as it is stated after the *ḥadīth* that the Prophet 'connected knowledge with belief and gave both precedence over the rest of classes' (*Qūt*, 1.384; this Tradition appears in Section 31 regarding knowledge).

² *Talqīh*, 714-7.

³ Ibn al-Jawzī clearly states that all the transmitters of this Tradition about the *ṭabaqāt* are approved (*ibid.*, 714).

Ibn al-Jawzī consulted al-Makkī's alleged *ḥadīth* collection, since the same Tradition in the *Qūt* does not have the whole passage.¹ In addition to this, the *Qūt* does not contain al-Makkī's classification of forty years with five *ṭabaqāt*.² It should also be mentioned that, in the *Talqīh*, Ibn al-Jawzī lists a chain of transmitters of this Tradition, whereas a long *isnād* cannot be found in the *Qūt*, and, in this particular case, al-Makkī just mentions a '*ḥadīth* of Anas from the Prophet'.³

From these three reasons, it may be concluded that it is not the *Qūt* (or the *ʿIlm*) where Ibn al-Jawzī found this Tradition and al-Makkī's categorisation. This might raise the probability of the existence of al-Makkī's alleged collection of forty *ḥadīth*. Ibn al-Jawzī evidently sees significance in the enumeration of *ḥadīth* transmitters,⁴ and the short or non-existent *isnād* in the *Qūt* might be one reason why he states that the Traditions in this book are 'invalid'⁵ and 'have no origin'.⁶

Having examined four books of Ibn al-Jawzī, now is the time to tie up loose ends and evaluate his attitudes towards al-Makkī and Sufism. It is clear, however, that to make conjectures regarding his overall opinion of Sufism is beyond the scope of this thesis. This is because such an evaluation would have to take his other writings into account, Ibn al-Jawzī being one of the most prolific writers in Islamic

¹ This *ḥadīth* does not seem to appear in the *ʿIlm*.

² And neither does the *ʿIlm*.

³ *Qūt*, 1.384.

⁴ For this Tradition of Anas, for example, Ibn al-Jawzī lists eleven transmitters (*Talqīh*, 714), and, as Margoliouth points out, many lines of the *Talbīs* are 'occupied with' *isnād*, which are omitted in the process of translation apart from the first and the last ("The Devil's Delusion" (Jan, 1935), 3).

⁵ *Talbīs*, 164.

⁶ *Muntaẓam*, 7.189.

history, said to have written more than 200 books.¹ Even in one book, the *Ṣifa*, his argument does not seem to be consistent,² and it would be difficult to state his general view of Sufism in a few words.

His attitudes towards al-Makkī, too, show the variety of his feelings. The account of al-Makkī in the *Muntaẓam* indicates the author's rather negative opinion of al-Makkī.³ Although the term 'Sufism' or 'Sufī' is not used, the fact that al-Makkī is introduced as an ascetic, together with the reference to his affiliation with al-Sālimiyya, give a clear impression of al-Makkī being a Sufī.⁴ This attitude seems to be confirmed in the *Talbīs*, where Ibn al-Jawzī makes al-Makkī appear in the sections on asceticism and Sufism in order to criticise his views. Although the same author made an abridgement of a famous Sufī treatise, the *Ḥilya*, and shows his respect for its author, Abū Nu'aym, in the *Ṣifa*, the image of Ibn al-Jawzī would seem to be one of hostility to anything which he believes is outside mainstream Islam.

This impression is not inaccurate, since he does rebut, for instance, certain Sufī writers including al-Makkī in a strong disapproving tone. As seen above, it appears that Ibn al-Jawzī rejects al-Makkī and Sufism in general.⁵ However, in the

¹ Cf. *GAL*, 1.659-66, SI.914-20.

² Ibn al-Jawzī states, for example, the ten refutable elements of Sufism at the beginning of the *Ṣifa* and says they will be discussed later on; however, he does not come back to these points again in his book (*Ṣifa*, 1.2-5).

³ As discussed above, Ibn al-Jawzī criticises the *Qūt* for using rootless *ḥadīth* and quotes al-Khaṭīb's statements about al-Makkī's apparent problematic saying (but not al-Khaṭīb's disapproving remark about the *Qūt*) (*Muntaẓam*, 7.189-90).

⁴ Al-Makkī's response in a form of poem regarding the *samā'* practice and his deathbed story seem to follow a conventional image of Sufis as well. Also in the *Talbīs*, Ibn al-Jawzī explains that Sufism is a 'well-known path (*madhhab*)', which is different from asceticism, but that a Sufī is essentially an extended version of an ascetic (*Talbīs*, 165, 161).

⁵ Laoust, for example, states that al-Makkī, al-Qushayrī and al-Ghazālī are 'vigorously attacked' in the *Talbīs* (*EF*², s.v. (H. Laoust)).

Talqīh Ibn al-Jawzī's attitude is entirely different from that in the *Muntazam* and the *Talbīs*. Thus, there seems to be good reason to reevaluate the initial impression and expectation of Ibn al-Jawzī being hostile to Sufism.

From what we have seen in these chapters, it appears that the thrust of Ibn al-Jawzī's criticism of al-Makkī is specific. First of all, the bulk of his disapproval is directed towards the *Qūt* (particularly certain phrases), al-Makkī's behaviour towards Tradition, and some of his teachings. As can be seen here, Ibn al-Jawzī specifies the problems he finds in al-Makkī's writing, and it may be assumed that the rest of al-Makkī's views do not trouble him. He would not have used al-Makkī's *ḥadīth* and method if he had had difficulties with al-Makkī himself.

The same could apply to the case of Sufism. As discussed above, Ibn al-Jawzī's criticism of Sufism does not amount to total denial. His problem lies in Sufism's divergence from its original 'version'. It should also be mentioned that in his list of *ṭabaqāt* in the *Talqīh*, Ibn al-Jawzī includes al-Biṣṭāmī as the representative of an ascetic in the sixth generation and Ibn al-Sālim in the eighth,¹ even though the two would seem to be exactly the sort of figure that Ibn al-Jawzī would find unacceptable.²

¹ *Talqīh*, 716.

² Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī is famous for his ecstatic utterances when he reaches the mystical state, and Ibn Sālim is often the target of criticism from the Ḥanbalites, as seen in Ibn al-Farrā's writing, above (*EL*¹ and *EL*², s.v. (L. Massignon)). There is a possibility that Ibn al-Jawzī did not make a change to al-Makkī's original list up till the latter's era; however, the probability of this seems to be low. Ibn al-Jawzī mentions the names of several figures from al-Makkī's list as an example of how the latter enumerates prominent personalities. But these names do not appear in the former's version (*Talqīh*, 715). It is likely that although Ibn al-Jawzī uses al-Makkī's list as a model, he made alterations in its entry.

According to Braune, Ibn al-Jawzī used to hold meetings which are ‘paradigmatic’ for Sufi practices, despite his vigorous attacks on the ‘orgiastic’ elements of Sufi gatherings.¹ Braune uses this as an example of a Ḥanbalite attitude which is not always firm refusal of mystical phenomena. Certainly it is impossible here to determine for certain Ibn al-Jawzī’s attitude towards Sufism, given that such a task requires prolonged research. In addition to the need for a laborious process of study of his voluminous writings, Ibn al-Jawzī might after all not have been consistent in his views on Sufism. Ibn al-Jawzī’s criticism seems to be strictly directed against doctrines which have, in his opinion, deviated from the accepted and lawful norms, and the only thing which has been established as certain so far is that his estimation of al-Makkī and Sufism is more complicated than it looks at first sight.²

Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū‘ fatāwā*

The same tendency can be seen in another well-known Ḥanbalī thinker, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). In his *Majmū‘ fatāwā* (‘Collection of Legal Opinions’), Ibn Taymiyya responds to a question regarding the *Qūt* and the *Iḥyā’*, and claims that the latter is ‘subordinate’ to the former, as al-Makkī is ‘more

¹ *EL*², s.v. ‘‘Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī’ (W. Braune). Cf. Khalidī, who also discusses Ibn al-Jawzī’s mixed feeling towards certain elements of Sufism (*Arabic Historical Thought*, 212-3).

² Shukri briefly mentions that Ibn al-Jawzī criticises al-Makkī for his use of weak traditions (Shukri, 55). Amin expands this, offers a translation of an account of al-Makkī in the *Muntaẓam* and a passage from the *Talbīs*, and gives a comment that al-Makkī’s ‘reliability of narrating traditions was a particular subject of criticism by Ibn al-Jawzī’ (Amin, 23); however, the latter’s feelings towards al-Makkī do not seem amenable to such a simple summary as this.

knowledgeable' than al-Ghazālī in general, including about *ḥadīth* and Sufī sayings, and his words are 'undoubtedly more apposite, better and less heretical (*bid'a*)' than those of al-Ghazālī.¹

This statement clearly shows that the famous Ḥanbalī scholar has a high opinion of the *Qūt* and prefers it to al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'*.² This *fatwā* also demonstrates that Ibn Taymiyya is well acquainted not only with these two books but also Sufism, *kalām* and philosophical discourses.³ Ibn Taymiyya explains that the *Qūt* elucidates internal matters, such as 'patience (*ṣabr*), gratitude (*shukr*), love (*ḥubb*), trust in God (*tawakkul*) and *tawḥīd*', and states that although the work is less problematic than the *Iḥyā'*, it still contains weak Traditions and many dubious issues.⁴

This last criticism can also be seen in another *fatwā*, where Ibn Taymiyya discusses 'the people of gnosis', whose writings always include 'questionable and false' *ḥadīth*, and he enumerates the major writings in this category, such as the works of 'Abū Ṭālib [al-Makkī], Abū Ḥāmid [al-Ghazālī], and Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir [al-Jilānī]'.⁵ These two passages above indicate that although Ibn Taymiyya has a problem with the use of invalid (according to him) Traditions, he does not seem to have any difficulty with mysticism itself.

¹ *Fatāwā*, 10.551.

² Ibn Taymiyya acknowledges that the *Iḥyā'* contains many useful matters, but says that the book also talks about what he sees as objectionable issues (*ibid.*).

³ In his explanation of the *Iḥyā'*, for example, Ibn Taymiyya relates the work not only to al-Makkī, but also to al-Muḥāsibī, *kalām* and philosophy (*ibid.*, 10.551-2). Laoust analyses Ibn Taymiyya's familiarity with *kalām*, philosophy, Sufism and heretical doctrines, and argues that although he often mentions al-Ghazālī in his main writings, Ibn Taymiyya observes that al-Ghazālī's ideas are borrowed from al-Muḥāsibī and, particularly, from al-Makkī, whose *Qūt* has 'passé dans l'*Iḥyā'*' (*Taimīya*, 80-100, 82).

⁴ *Fatāwā*, 10.551.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.579.

Makdisi concludes that Ibn Taymiyya was a Sufi of the Qādiriyya order.¹ Laoust argues that Ibn Taymiyya never hides his ‘intellectual affinity’ for Sufism,² nor his admiration for the saints, and he even talks about the Sālimiyya school with ‘strong sympathy’.³ The last point might come from his approval of al-Makkī,⁴ since his book represents certain Sālimiyya doctrines of which Ibn Taymiyya approves.⁵ Despite his criticism of al-Makkī’s attitudes towards Tradition, he speaks highly of al-Makkī. It is also evident that Ibn Taymiyya prefers him to al-Ghazālī, which can be also seen in his other writings.⁶

Ibn Taymiyya shows his wide knowledge of mystical tradition by referring to major writings on Sufism, such as *Kitāb al-zuhd* (‘Book of Renunciation’) of Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), the *Ḥilya* of Abū Nu‘aym, the *Ṣifa* of Ibn al-Jawzī, the *Ṭabaqāt* of al-Sulamī and the *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī.⁷ Ibn Taymiyya also refers to, for instance, al-Junayd, al-Tustarī, al-Suhrawardī and Ibn al-‘Arabī,⁸ and, as Laoust argues, Ibn Taymiyya does not seem to deny Sufism *per se*, but finds what deviates

¹ Makdisi, ‘Ibn Taimīya’, where he states that Ibn Taymiyya is ‘no less a Ṣūfī than Ghazzālī’; moreover, the former has the ‘formal credentials of Ṣūfism not yet found for’ the latter (*ibid.*, 119). Cf. Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy*, 76.

² See also Homerin, ‘Ibn Taimīya’, 219 (and the whole article which includes a translation of Ibn Taymiyya’s *al-Ṣūfiyya wa’l-fuqarā*’).

³ Laoust also explains that Ibn Taymiyya regards a Sufi as one who ‘tout en préconisant une pratique fervente de la Loi, respecte la théodicée et les pratiques culturelles de la tradition orthodoxe’ (*Taimīya*, 89).

⁴ Laoust argues that the *Qūt* is Ibn Taymiyya’s favourite work among mystical writings (‘Hanbalisme’, 35); cf. Makdisi, ‘Hanbali School’, 67.

⁵ *Taimīya*, 90. Cf. Laoust, *Schismes*, 161; *El*¹ and *El*², s.v. ‘Sālīmīya’ (L. Massignon).

⁶ *Taimīya*, 90 n. 1.

⁷ *Fatāwā*, 11.580. Ibn al-Mubārak is a well-known ascetic and his book is a collection of Tradition and pious sayings in regard to renunciation (cf. *Mysticism*, 21-2; *Sufism* (A), 40). Ibn Taymiyya states that the *ḥadīth* in this book are weak (*Fatāwā*, 11.580).

⁸ In the case of Ibn al-‘Arabī, Ibn Taymiyya does not seem to approve of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (e.g. Homerin, ‘Ibn Taimīya’, 219; cf. Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy*, 76).

from the Sharī‘a unacceptable.¹

As in the case of Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Taymiyya’s criticism of al-Makkī regards his attitudes towards *ḥadīth*.² Shukri and Amin briefly touch upon this point,³ while al-Raḍwānī quotes only the first part of an above-mentioned *fatwā*, which shows Ibn Taymiyya’s preference for al-Makkī over al-Ghazālī, and omits the rest where Ibn Taymiyya expresses his disapproval of certain aspects of the *Qūt*.⁴ Although it would require prolonged research to examine Ibn Taymiyya’s views of al-Makkī, the link between the two figures seems to deserve further investigation. Together with the case of Ibn al-Jawzī, it can be said so far that these famous Ḥanbalī scholars seem to have been inspired by mystical thought one way or another, and while their core doctrine is centred on Ḥanbalism, the relation between Sufism and Ḥanbalism evinces more intricate patterns than it seems at first sight, and would be an intriguing subject to explore further.

Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn*

The last work to be examined in this section is *Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn* (‘The Gift of God-fearing Gentlemen’), written by the lexicographer Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1205/1791). This is an extensive commentary on al-Ghazālī’s

¹ *Taimīya*, 89-93. Laoust states that although the core doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya is based on Ḥanbalism, he was looking for a ‘doctrine of synthesis or of conciliation’, which integrates the three elements of three branches of knowledge: the reason of *kalām* thinkers, the *ḥadīth* of Traditionists and the ‘free-will (*irāda*)’ of Sufis (*ET*², s.v. (H. Laoust)).

² Al-Makkī is not the only writer who is criticised for the use of weak Tradition; e.g. al-Ghazālī receives the same accusation (*Fatāwā*, 10.552).

³ Shukri, 55; Amin, 26.

⁴ *Qūt*, 1.3.

Iḥyā', where Muḥammad Murtaḍā pays special attention to words as well as traditions which appear in the book.¹ This issue does not seem to have been discussed properly.² The available 1894 edition does not contain an index, and it would be impossible to present a complete analysis here; however, it is still worth mentioning how al-Makkī is treated in this voluminous commentary.

In a chapter commenting on Section 2 of the *Iḥyā'* regarding the foundations of the articles of faith (*kitāb qawā'id al-'aqā'id*), Muḥammad Murtaḍā presents al-Makkī as the 'author of the *Qūt*', and states, for instance, 'this is how the author of the *Qūt* cited from Sahl' or 'this is the saying [which] the author of the *Qūt* cited in Section 33'.³ Al-Makkī appears throughout in a chapter on Section 21 of the *Iḥyā'* concerning the wonders of the heart (*kitāb 'ajā'ib al-qalb*).⁴ At the beginning of this chapter, Muḥammad Murtaḍā calls al-Makkī *al-shaykh*, while he does not give any honorific title to other figures, such as al-Junayd, Ibn 'Aṭā', al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abū Nu'aym or al-Qushayrī.⁵

Several tendencies can be seen in how Muḥammad Murtaḍā refers to al-Makkī. At least in this chapter on the heart, al-Makkī is the most frequently cited

¹ *EL*², s.v. (C. Brockelmann); *GAL*, 2.287-8.

² Reichmuth refers to al-Makkī in his work on Muḥammad Murtaḍā and states that the 'main source' of al-Ghazālī in the field of Sufism is al-Makkī, whose *Qūt* is quoted 'at length' in the *Iḥyā'* (*World of Murtaḍā*, 271; cf. 289-90, 308).

³ Muḥammad Murtaḍā, *Iḥyā'*, 2.67. Cf. *Qūt*, 3.1171-268 (Sec. 33). Al-Makkī's reference to Sahl al-Tustarī is sometimes quoted in the *Iḥyā'* (e.g. 7.254), which could show the former's importance in the study of the latter, as Böwering suggests in his *Vision* (25-8 *et passim*).

⁴ Muḥammad Murtaḍā, *Iḥyā'*, 7.205, 224, 228, 229, 230, 234, 235, 236, 237, 240, 241, 244, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267, 269, 299, 302, 303, 305, 307, 308, 312.

⁵ As for al-Makkī, see *ibid.*, 7.205. After him, regarding the first two figures, see e.g. *ibid.*, 7.204; the rest, e.g. 7.209, 224, 262, respectively. Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī is called *al-imām* once in this chapter (*ibid.*, 7.247), and this seems to be the only other example of an honorific.

figure.¹ Apart from the first entry, he is always addressed as the author of the *Qūt*, unlike other writers, who are mostly referred to by name. Expressions such as ‘in this way it [appears] in the *Qūt* (*hākādhā huwa fi’l-Qūt*)’ and ‘the *Qūt* said (*lafāza al-Qūt*) ...’ can often be seen in this section,² which indicates Muḥammad Murtaḍā’s great familiarity with al-Makkī’s work.

At the end, Muḥammad Murtaḍā adds appendices related to this section and explains that he has gathered the information mainly from the *Qūt* and the ‘*Awāriḥ*, by which ‘the understanding (*wuqūf*) of [the topic] has been facilitated’ for him, and he has therefore quoted from these two works alone.³ Towards the end of the appendices, it is confessed that all the arguments he has presented here are what he ‘summarised from the book *Qūt*’.⁴ From these brief examples, it is evident that Muḥammad Murtaḍā consulted al-Makkī’s writing carefully and demonstrated a clear link between the *Iḥyā’* and *Qūt*. This issue seems to be worth special investigation, and a comprehensive index of the *Iḥyā’* is awaited.

7.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

After studying approximately fifty works in the fields of *ṭabaqāt*, Sufism, *ḥadīth* and

¹ Followed by, probably, Abū Nu‘aym’s *Hilya*, al-Suhrawardī’s ‘*Awāriḥ*’ and some work of al-‘Irāqī. The last figure seems to be either Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī (d. 686/1287), a mystical poet of al-Suhrawardiyya (*EL*², s.v. (H. Massé); *Mysticism*, 204, 274) or Shams al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī (d. 932/1526), who associated himself with the Nūrbakhshiyya order, which holds a mixture of Shī‘i, Sunni and Sufi doctrines (*EL*², s.v. (M. Hasan); *Mysticism*, 237-8).

² E.g. the former: Muḥammad Murtaḍā, *Iḥyā’*, 7.228, 234; the latter: *ibid.*, 7.229 (in four places), 230.

³ *Ibid.*, 7.308.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.312.

other religious works,¹ it is now time to draw the threads of these chapters together and to evaluate what kind of status al-Makkī had in pre-modern times. After al-Makkī died in 386/996, Ibn al-Farrā' and al-Khaṭīb, who died seventy and seventy-five years after him, seem to be the first authors who mention al-Makkī and whose works have survived until today. In Ibn al-Farrā''s *Mu'tamad*, al-Makkī is not connected with either Sufism or al-Sālimiyya, while al-Khaṭīb associates him with both in the *Ta'rīkh*. The *Mu'tamad* concerns *kalām*-Ḥanbalism, and it is hard to believe that this work has been widely read. Al-Khaṭīb's *Ta'rīkh*, on the other hand, has been cited in numerous works since its completion. His negative opinion of the *Qūt*, and his statement that this work is a Sufi writing and that al-Makkī was a member of al-Sālimiyya must have had a strong influence on later authors.

Despite a certain amount of criticism by non-Sufi writers, al-Makkī starts making a constant appearance among the major works on Sufism after al-Ghazālī's reference to him. It is still a mystery why early Sufi authors in the pre-al-Ghazālī period were totally silent about al-Makkī.² Three possible reasons for his absence would be, first, that al-Makkī was not regarded as a Sufi; second, that his thought and his affiliation with al-Sālimiyya were disapproved of; and, third, the fragile position of Sufism in the fifth/eleventh century.

As for the first point, al-Makkī is often introduced as the author of the *Qūt*.

¹ See Appendix X for a chronological list of the works examined in this section. The list can by no means claim to be comprehensive.

² Amin also mentions that the major writings on Sufism in the eleventh century do not mention al-Makkī; however, he does not expand on this issue (Amin, 20).

It would not therefore be a surprise that the work was not originally received as a Sufi manual, especially by Sufis. There might also be a gap between the criteria for being a Sufi asserted by Sufis themselves and those of non-Sufis. Al-Makkī's ascetic practices and mythical death-bed story are reported in non-Sufi writings, such as by Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Dhahabī. This kind of narrative could be enough for non-Sufis to deem al-Makkī a Sufi, but there is a possibility that for early Sufis this might indicate al-Makkī's piety and diligence, but no more.

Concerning the second and third points, although Ibn al-Farrā' projects a theologically different image of al-Makkī than that of al-Khaṭīb, if the latter's view is the one which was commonly accepted, the main writers on Sufism in its formative period might have avoided mentioning al-Makkī. Their aim is to prove the soundness of Sufism, and the link between al-Makkī and al-Sālimiyya might have been considered problematic, especially given that this school seems to have been regarded as heretical even among those in favour of Sufism, as discussed above in connection with Hujwārī's *Kashf*. Since little is known about this school, it is difficult to evaluate whether this speculation can be proved correct. However, al-Makkī's association with this group and the position of Sufism in Islam in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries could be the major external reasons for the absence of al-Makkī in the early Sufi writings.

In addition to these social and environmental conditions, possible internal reasons should also be considered, namely the characteristics of al-Makkī's writings.

In the historical sources examined in these chapters, three works of al-Makkī are identified: the *Qūt*, a *ḥadīth* collection and (allegedly) a *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān.¹ As discussed earlier, the *Qūt* could be classified as a Sufi work, since it covers spiritual aspects of religion and elucidates certain terms which are often used by Sufis. However, the *Qūt* has to be differentiated from the other classical manuals of Sufism, such as al-Sarrāj's *Luma'*, al-Kalābādhī's *Ta'arruf*, al-Qushayrī's *Risāla* and Hujwīrī's *Kashf*, since these are clearly compiled to clarify the nature of Sufism, with explanation of mystical terminologies, figures and writings.

The emphasis of the *Qūt* is on the importance of right bodily action based on right action in the heart. This spirit is inherited by al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyā'*, and Ibn Taymiyya and al-Rundī compare these two works for good reason. The core question of both books is how to become a better believer. If a Sufi represents a religiously right Muslim, the *Qūt* and the *Iḥyā'* would evidently be writings on Sufism. However, it might be less misleading if we just say that these books are about Islamic piety in general. At the time of al-Makkī and throughout the fifth/eleventh century, mystical phenomena in Islam must have had a different image from the one which they may have today. In this period of the theorisation of Sufism, there is a possibility that the *Qūt* was regarded as falling somewhere between a work on Sufism and religious ethics. In addition to the previous points regarding al-Sālimiyya and timing, the

¹ None of his other possible writings (see Appendix III) appears in these materials, including the *ʿIlm*. As argued above, Ibn al-ʿArabī states that al-Makkī compiled other books than the *Qūt*, and al-Khaṭīb mentions his works on *tawḥīd*; however, their titles or genres remain unknown to us.

characteristics of the *Qūt* itself could be part of the reason why al-Makkī does not appear amongst the Sufi classics.¹

From the twelfth century onwards, the tide changes and al-Makkī starts to be cited and esteemed in various writings on Sufism. It should be underlined that these works do not always mention al-Makkī's connection with al-Sālimiyya,² while other non-Sufi sources in the same period often refer to this subject. If the reputation of this school was unchanged,³ the difference between this and the previous period would be the position of Sufism in Islam, which might have had a positive effect on al-Makkī's appearance in later Sufi literature.

Considering al-Ghazālī's fame and importance in the history of Islam, we could give all the credit to him for al-Makkī's appearance after him. It might be possible to argue that his open respect for al-Makkī and his contribution to the improvement of the status of mysticism in Islam gave encouragement and liberty to later authors to use and mention al-Makkī freely. However, as Knysh argues, it is more plausible to judge that al-Ghazālī is a 'vivid example' of the intellectual trend in the sixth/twelfth century,⁴ when the Sufi movement seems to have been rooted in Islam religiously and socially, and many Sufi orders started to be formed.⁵

¹ Since his other writings on Tradition and the Qur'ān seem to be lost to us, it cannot be determined what kind of influence these works could have exerted on early writers on Sufism. (In addition to this, the *Qūt* is the main work of al-Makkī.)

² An exception is Jāmī, who mentions al-Makkī's relation with Ibn Sālim and Sahl Tustarī, via Ibn Sālim's father (*Nafahāt*, 121).

³ Böwering argues that the Sālimī group seems to have existed at the time of al-Makkī (*Vision*, 96), but that after this school appears to have died down (*ET*^I, s.v. (Massignon)). If so, the Sālimiyya school did not have a chance to improve its reputation.

⁴ *Mysticism*, 168.

⁵ Basic Sufi communities can be seen earlier than this period (cf. *Sufism (K)*, 114-15), but the

The cultivation of mystical activity can also be found in a tighter master-disciple relationship than before, as al-Rundī points out.¹ These environmental changes in Sufism might have taken place gradually; however, overall it can be assumed that spiritual life in later times must have become different from that of early Sufis through the systematisation period. In addition to al-Ghazālī, this altered position of Sufism in Islam might have contributed to al-Makkī's appearance and the open respect which he has received in many mystical writings from the sixth/twelfth century onwards.

Regarding al-Makkī's influence, his direct obvious inspiration can be found in the writings of Ibn al-Farrā', al-Ghazālī, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Suhrawardī, Ibn al-ʿArabī, al-Rundī and Muḥammad Murtaḍā. A possible link between al-Makkī and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and his influence on Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh and Ibn Taymiyya should be further explored. In the connection with Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh and al-Rundī, the comparison between the Shādhiliyya teachings and those of al-Makkī should give another perspective on the study of al-Makkī. As discussed above, he seems to have made a strong impression on various Ḥanbalī scholars, including Ibn al-Farrā', ʿAbd al-Qādir, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyya. The relationship between al-Makkī and these thinkers, and Sufism and Ḥanbalism in general, show entangled intellectual interaction, and this deserves further investigation.

The main criticism of al-Makkī concerns his use of weak Tradition, as

major Sufi orders, many of which still exist today, saw their rise in the sixth/twelfth century onwards (cf. *Mysticism*, 172-3).

¹ *Rasāʾil*, 130; see above. Cf. *Mysticism*, 177-9; *Sufism (K)*, 116-27.

Gramlich and Amin mention.¹ Although the former enumerates the books that express disapproval of al-Makkī's method,² most of them copy their information from previous works, and it is not certain whether these authors have actually read al-Makkī's book.

For instance, al-Khaṭīb expresses his negative opinion about the *Qūt* (but not regarding the use of Tradition); however, it cannot be entirely certain whether he has read the work himself. Among the writers who have been studied here, it appears to be only Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyya who offer original critical views on the basis of their own examination of the work.³ However, a careful study of their writings reveals that their attitudes towards al-Makkī are not as straightforward as they look or as one might expect.

In terms of al-Makkī's biographical data, al-Khaṭīb's *Ta'rīkh* is one of the core sources for later *ṭabaqāt*, followed by Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntazam* and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*, which make good use of the *Ta'rīkh*. Al-Dhahabī then collates information from these former works and his compilations also serve as a model for later authors. These writings set a precedent and afterwards many biographical compilations became, more or less, supplements or reworkings of the previous versions.

At the time of al-Dhahabī, three-and-a-half centuries had already passed

¹ *Nahrung*, 1.17; Amin, 23. Cf. Shukri, 55.

² *Nahrung*, 1.17.

³ Al-Dhahabī, too, might have had direct contact with the *Qūt*, as well as al-Makkī's *ḥadīth* collection; however, the former's opinion on the latter is not clear from the works which we have looked at in these chapters.

since al-Makkī's death, and after the mid eighth/fourteenth century, there is less new information about al-Makkī's life and work.¹ From this time onwards, the focus of examination of the historical sources would be not only seeking for new data, but how their authors respond to early writings and how they use al-Makkī's work – for instance, al-Suyūṭī's response to al-Dhahabī, al-Rundī's *Rasā'il* and Muḥammad Murtaḍā's *Iḥāf*.

On the whole, then, what kind of status did al-Makkī and his works have in pre-modern times? Amin concludes his article with a statement that al-Makkī was a 'traditionist *ṣūfī*, though both sides, *ṣūfīs* and traditionists, do not acknowledge him for his involvement in the *ṣūfī* and *ḥadīth* world'.² However, apart from the Sufi classics in the late fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, many writings on both Sufism and Tradition do acknowledge him, and the initial silence among the early mystic writers should be located within the wider social context, not only from their possible personal opinion on al-Makkī.

Al-Makkī's main work, the *Qūt*, cannot be simply categorised into either mystical or *ḥadīth* literature. As Gramlich says, this work is a 'summary of Islamic piety', inspired by Traditions and religious groups, especially al-Sālimiyya and Sufis.³ This inclusive nature might come from its author, who can be described simply as a devout believer, since any kind of classification (Sufi or Traditionist) is

¹ A single exception would be Ibn Ḥajar, who adds new information about al-Makkī's teachers in his *Lisān*, a rework of al-Dhahabī's *Mīzān*.

² Amin, 'al-Makkī', 76.

³ *Nahrung*, 1.5.

exclusive and does not seem to capture his nature. This probably explains why al-Makkī's writing(s) could be the source of inspiration, including criticism, in various fields, not only of mysticism, but also of *ḥadīth*, *ṭabaqāt*¹ and others. There may well also be works (within and outside Muslim writings) which are inspired by al-Makkī but without acknowledgment. The next and last chapter of this thesis will analyse a book on Jewish piety as a possible example of this tendency.

¹ This *ṭabaqāt* dose not refer to biographical dictionaries, but the classification of people which can be seen Ibn al-Jawzī's *Talqīh*, where he uses al-Makkī's grouping as a model (*Talqīh*, 714-7).

CHAPTER 8:

A COMPARISON BETWEEN *QŪT AL-QULŪB* AND*AL-HIDĀYA ILĀ FARĀ'ID AL-QULŪB*8.1 INTRODUCTION TO IBN BĀQŪDĀ AND *AL-HIDĀYA*

Up to now, this thesis has examined al-Makkī's religious ideas and his significance for Muslims. The focus here shifts from Muslim to Jewish writings. This last chapter explores the possible influence of the *Qūt* upon a Jewish judge, Ibn Bāqūdā (d. some time after 1080),¹ who, approximately a century after al-Makkī's death, wrote *Kitāb al-hidāya ilā farā'id al-qulūb* ('Book of the Right Guidance to the Religious Duties of Hearts'), a book which is popular among Jews.²

Ibn Bāqūdā was one of the earliest Jewish philosophers in Spain,³ and his book *al-Hidāya* gained great popularity as a systematic treatise on ethics in the Jewish religious tradition. The influence upon *al-Hidāya* of Arabic literature, especially that of *kalām* and Sufi writings, is clear from its title, its contents and the religious milieu in which Ibn Bāqūdā lived, and this influence has been the subject of significant scholarly work. Al-Makkī's impact on him has also been suggested;⁴ however, this link is hardly recognised in Islamic studies and there seems to be no

¹ Since the *ʿIlm* is unlikely to be al-Makkī's own compilation, the focus on the comparative analysis here will be on the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*. However, considering the fact that the *ʿIlm* reflects al-Makkī's doctrine well, this work is also referred to in this chapter.

² Mansoor rendered the title as *The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*; Vajda translated it as *Introduction aux devoirs des cœurs* (*Théologie*, 18); Yahuda read it as *Die Anleitung zu den religiösen Pflichten der Herzen* (*Hidāja*, 59). Considering *farīda* (pl. *farā'id*) as signifying a thing made obligatory on humanity by God (Lane, 2.2375), Yahuda's rendition of 'religiösen Pflichten' sounds most appropriate.

³ He is sometimes described as a Neo-Platonist, probably because the first two chapters of his book seem to have Neo-Platonic elements; see, e.g. Sirat, *Jewish Philosophy*, 82; Altmann, *Philosophy and Mysticism*, 73.

⁴ See Ch. 1.3.

comprehensive research into it.

This chapter first introduces Ibn Bāqūdā and his book, and then explores *al-Hidāya* in detail. The last section compares this work with the *Qūt* by evaluating their aim, structure, approach, and their religious views of the heart, in order to examine whether literary parallels can be found between the two books, as has sometimes been suggested. The primary aim of this chapter is to analyse the possible link between al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā as individuals. The conclusion, however, will briefly discuss the interaction between Muslim and Jewish philosophical traditions in general.

8.1.1 IBN BĀQŪDĀ

Baḥyā b. Yūsuf Ibn Bāqūdā (also known as Bachya ben Joseph ben Paquda) was an Andalusian scholar.¹ His life is shrouded in mystery. It is not certain when and where he was born and died, nor is the exact place where he spent his life known. The latest Jewish figure among those whom he mentions in *al-Hidāya* is Ibn Janāḥ, who died around 1050, and *al-Hidāya* was translated into Hebrew by Judah b. Tibbon (d. ca. 1190) in 1161. Kaufmann argued in 1910 that Ibn Bāqūdā was active in the mid-eleventh century,² while in 1927 Kokovtsov placed his life towards the

¹ His name appears as al-Wā‘iz al-Dayyān Baḥyā b. Yūsuf b. Bāqūdā al-Andalusī in Yahuda’s edition (*Hidāja*, 1 [Arabic]).

² Kaufmann, ‘Theologie des Bachja’, 17-18. He argues for Ibn Bāqūdā’s influence on a famous Andalusian poet, Solomon ben Judah Ibn Gabirol, who was born ca. 1021 and died ca. 1057. From this, as well as Ibn Bāqūdā’s acquaintance with Ibn Janāḥ, Kaufmann concludes that Ibn Bāqūdā composed his book approximately in 1040.

end of the eleventh century.¹ Yahuda, writing in 1912, seems to believe that Ibn Bāqūdā lived in the first half of the twelfth century.²

The disputes mainly concern an argument over who influenced whom and who mentioned whom. More recent studies by Mansoor in 1973 and Lobel in 2007 show that it is likely that Ibn Bāqūdā did his writing in the latter half of the eleventh century, with the very beginning of the twelfth century as the *terminus ad quem*.³

The place where he mainly spent his life is, likewise, uncertain. Some scholars place him in Cordoba, others in Saragossa.⁴ Concerning his profession, the earliest translation of *al-Hidāya* describes Ibn Bāqūdā as a *dayyān*, a judge at a rabbinical court, while nothing in his writings specifically suggests his occupation.⁵ Since no anecdote about his career seems to have survived until today, it is hard to know whether Ibn Bāqūdā did his writing in his spare time or whether we should see this as something arising from his judicial work. In the eleventh century, Spain witnessed the collapse of the Marwānid Caliphate. The Kingdom of al-Andalus was facing its downfall and the political and social situation in Cordoba must have been different from that in Saragossa. It remains obscure, however, how the work of Ibn

¹ Kokovtsov, 'Life of Bahya' in *Jewish Philosophy*, ed. Katz, 19-21. He reads a passage written by Moses ben Jacob Ibn Ezra (ca. 1055-after 1135), a poet and philosopher from Granada, as indicating that Ibn Bāqūdā belongs to an earlier generation than Ibn Ezra. Kokovtsov concludes that Ibn Bāqūdā wrote *al-Hidāya* no later than 1080-90.

² This can be assumed from his belief in al-Ghazālī's influence on *al-Hidāya*. Given the year of al-Ghazālī's death, 1111, and year of the translation, 1161, Ibn Bāqūdā has to have done his writing in the first half of the twelfth century (*Hidāja*, xii, xv).

³ *Direction*, 1, 33-6; *Dialogue*, 1-2. Following the argument by Kokovtsov, both authors agree that *al-Hidāya* was written around 1080.

⁴ *Direction*, 1. According to Lobel, a manuscript of *al-Hidāya* from 1340 states that Ibn Bāqūdā lived in Saragossa (*Dialogue*, 1).

⁵ *Direction*, 1; *Dialogue*, 1.

Bāqūdā and the place he spent his life would have been involved in his writing.

His fame lies in his book *al-Hidāya*, but Ibn Bāqūdā seems to have also composed several hymns. They were written in Hebrew in order to be used for liturgy. It appears that his hymns have not been preserved in their original forms; however, some of them have been used as a part of the prayer among the Jews of Spain and Italy.¹ On the whole, due to the paucity of sources, we have little chance of finding out about his personal life.

8.1.2 THE SIGNIFICANCE AND SCHOLARSHIP OF *AL-HIDĀYA*

Al-Hidāya has been widely read as a book of Jewish ethics. Abraham Maimonides (d. 1237) is known to have been a prominent spiritual successor of Ibn Bāqūdā; he was the only son of Moses Maimonides (d. 1204). The book was originally written in Judaeo-Arabic and was translated into Hebrew by Judah b. Tibbon in 1161.² The book became popular in its Hebrew version and among Jews is generally known by its Hebrew title, *Hōvōt ha-lēvāvōt*. This Hebrew version became a basic manual of eighteenth-century Hasidism in Central Europe.³ *Al-Hidāya* has been translated into many languages, including: Hebrew, Ladino, Spanish, Portuguese, Yiddish, German,

¹ *Direction*, 1-2. Cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 2.454.

² Ibn Tibbon is a family of translators, philosophers and exegetes, and Judah is often called the father of translators. Through translation, the family coined technical terminologies for philosophy and science, and their contribution to the development of philosophical vocabularies in Hebrew cannot be overestimated. Numerous studies on this prominent family have been conducted. Any decent encyclopaedia has an article on this family; the bibliography in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2nd ed., 19.713-14) is useful.

³ See, e.g. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 152; Safran, 'Bahya ibn Paquda's Attitude' in *Jewish History and Literature*, ed. Twersky, 154; *Dialogue*, ix.

Italian, French and English.¹ Most of these translations are based on Judah's Hebrew version.

In 1912, Yahuda edited the original text of *al-Hidāya* and published it in the Arabic script, except for Biblical quotations, pious sayings and Jewish names, which were left in Hebrew.² However, the Hebrew versions of the book are still widely used among scholars. Ibn Bāqūdā and his book have provided a large amount of material for Jewish scholarship, and various aspects of *al-Hidāya* (and the *Hōvōt*) have been studied – not only the philosophical and theological views of Ibn Bāqūdā, but also the book's linguistic, cultural and historical dimensions.³

Concerning the Islamic influence on *al-Hidāya*, study of Ibn Bāqūdā's ideas and the milieu in which he lived has led to agreement that the book represents his adoption of Islamic thought. He is described as 'a direct offspring of Muslim pietism',⁴ a description which applies not only to his ideas but also, it is proposed, to the style and terminologies used in his book.⁵ It is, therefore, crucial to examine *al-Hidāya* in Arabic especially for an analysis of Islamic influence on Ibn Bāqūdā.

¹ For the translations and editions of *al-Hidāya*, see *Direction*, 455-6; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 2.453.

² Regarding the manuscripts which Yahuda used, see *Hidāja*, 1-18. For the critique of Yahuda's use of manuscripts, see *Direction*, 3. A considerable number of mistakes and misprints have been pointed out both in the introduction and the Arabic text (Malter, review of *Hidāja*, 386-91).

³ For comparative analysis between *al-Hidāya* and Judah's translation, see, e.g. *Hidāja*, 19-52; Sister, 'Bachja-studien' and 'Einige Bemerkungen' in *Jewish Philosophy*, ed. Katz, 34-75 and 86-93 respectively. Mansoor provides a list of references of Ibn Bāqūdā and *al-Hidāya* (*Direction*, 453-9). Among scholarly works on Ibn Bāqūdā published after Mansoor's 1973 translation, Goodman demonstrates an interesting parallel between the views of Ibn Bāqūdā and Kant (d. 1804) on a classic antinomy of free will and predestination ('Antinomy'); and Safran conducts cultural analysis on *al-Hidāya* and examines Ibn Bāqūdā's views on the courtier class ('Bahya ibn Paquda's Attitude' in *Jewish History and Literature*, ed. Twersky).

⁴ Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 152.

⁵ See, e.g. Sirat, *Jewish Philosophy*, 82.

However, this point does not seem to have been considered as so important by scholars in this field. For example, one of the reviewers of Mansoor's English translation, which was carried out for the first time from Yahuda's Arabic edition, points out that there are already English versions of it based on the Hebrew versions,¹ as well as a French and a Hebrew translation from the original Arabic text, and suggests that Mansoor should have focused on translating other important Jewish works.²

Despite this criticism (and the paucity of annotation and the inconsistency of renderings),³ Mansoor's translation should be considered significant in terms of the recognition of the importance of the original text. As well as his translation, Vajda conducts painstaking research on the link between Sufi writings and *al-Hidāya*, based on the Arabic original. Lobel also provides more general research on the interaction between Sufism and Jewish thought; however, studies have usually been based on the Hebrew version of the text, referring to the Arabic text only when necessary. On the whole, there remains no shortage of material for scholars to conduct serious research on the original Judaeo-Arabic text of *al-Hidāya* and the Muslim influence upon it. In this chapter, Yahuda's Arabic edition, *al-Hidāja*, is consulted.

¹ Collins produced a summarised translation in 1909, *The Duties of the Heart*, and Hyamson published five-volume *Duties of the Heart* in 1925 in a dual English and Hebrew translation.

² Kamhi, review of *Direction*, 458.

³ Mansoor's very brief commentary on the translation and a considerable number of inconsistencies and mistakes throughout the book have been pointed out (*ibid.*; Nemoy, review of *Direction*, 259).

8.2 *AL-HIDĀYA ILĀ FARĀ'ID AL-QULŪB*

8.2.1 THE AIMS OF *AL-HIDĀYA*

Let us now examine the book itself. In the introduction to *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā clearly states the aim of his book. According to him, there are two kinds of knowledge in terms of religion: one is external knowledge which concerns the obligatory matters of limbs (*jawāriḥ*), while the other is internal knowledge which concerns the obligatory matters of hearts (*qulūb*).¹ The latter is more important than the former, since it is the heart which decides outward action. Ibn Bāqūdā insists that the heart concerns both internal and external actions, this world and the hereafter, and the supreme knowledge of religion. This issue is addressed clearly in the Scriptures and sayings of sages. This notwithstanding, Ibn Bāqūdā could not find a single book which draws proper attention to the heart² and so he decided to write a book in order to guide those who would like to try to bring ‘the treasures of hearts (*kunūz al-qulūb*)’ to light and to come close to God.³ He found that humans are easily caught up by evil thought and that constant reminders are necessary.⁴ For these reasons, then, he composed his book; and hence the title, *The Right Guidance to the Religious Duties of Hearts*.

The target audience of *al-Hidāya* is those who are neglectful in their

¹ *Hidāja*, 5 [Arabic].

² In the introduction to *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā divides post-Talmudic Jewish writings into three categories on the matter of religious obligations. He then criticises these early thinkers for their failure to deal exclusively with inner knowledge and the heart’s religious obligations (*ibid.*, 7-11, 22 [Arabic]).

³ *Ibid.*, 29 [Arabic].

⁴ *Ibid.*, 24 [Arabic].

observance of the law (*sharīʿa*) and belief.¹ Ibn Bāqūdā insists that his book belongs to theology. Apart from the first chapter, where he occasionally uses logic and mathematical arguments to elucidate *tawḥīd* and God's creation, he states that he has tried not to be too philosophical, and aimed to make his book as clear and accessible as possible. Throughout *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā quotes from the books of the Prophets and sayings of sages, which, together with a sound mind, are the gates to God, and he draws simple analogies which should be easily understandable.² He confesses that his knowledge of Arabic is not sufficient to express everything he means. However, he chose Judaeo-Arabic to compose *al-Hidāya* on the assumption that his book could then be read by more people of his time,³ since Judaeo-Arabic was commonly used among the Jews in the Islamic empire.⁴

In *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā often quotes the Bible, the Talmud and the Midrashim, but rarely refers to post-Talmudic Jewish writers, except Saadia Gaon (d. 942).⁵ In the introduction, Ibn Bāqūdā recommends his reader to study Saadia's books, since they can 'give light to intellects (*'uqūl*)' and 'make minds (*adhhān*) skilful'.⁶ Like Saadia, Ibn Bāqūdā's aim seems to be to seek rational foundations for belief in order to strengthen it. This was undertaken by many Jewish philosophers in

¹ *Ibid.*, 28 [Arabic].

² *Ibid.*, 25-6 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*, 23 [Arabic].

⁴ For a detailed discussion about the emergence of Judaeo-Arabic, see Blau, *Judaeo-Arabic*, 19-50. This language was especially common in the field of science, including philosophy, as it took a while for Hebrew to develop philosophical terminologies. (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1.48-54; Kamhi, review of *Direction*, 458). The issue of the use of Judaeo-Arabic is discussed later in this chapter.

⁵ Saadia Gaon is one of the earliest philosophers from upper Egypt. He was inclined to Mu'tazilite ideas and had a significant influence on later Jewish thinkers.

⁶ *Hidāja*, 33 [Arabic].

the medieval era under the influence of Greek and Muslim thinkers and the Islamic interpretation of Greek philosophy.¹ Ibn Bāqūdā was one of the early Jewish thinkers who lived several generations after al-Makkī.

8.2.2 THE CHAPTERS OF *AL-HIDĀYA*

Al-Hidāya concerns ethics. The book consists of ten chapters or gates (*abwāb*), and each chapter represents a ‘fundamental principle (*aṣl*)’ of the religious obligations of the heart. Ibn Bāqūdā elucidates ten primary duties in total with different aspects and obstacles to accomplishing them.² The internal structure of *al-Hidāya* is quite clear. Each chapter starts with a brief introduction to the subject matter, followed by six to ten sections, with each section explaining an aspect of the principle. Ibn Bāqūdā quotes many Biblical texts and sayings of sages, and draws analogies from them. His intention is always clearly stated and his argument is coherent. *Al-Hidāya* is a well-arranged book, despite his apologies that he was in a hurry to finish it before he died, and that we might therefore find it inadequate.³

The first chapter⁴ concerns *tawḥīd* and sincere devotion to God. Ibn Bāqūdā states that the declaration of *tawḥīd* is the most important principle and all other religious duties follow from it.⁵ He then claims that it is impossible for us to

¹ See, e.g. Cahn, *Philosophy of Judaism*, 321-2, 329; Sirat, *Jewish Philosophy*, 1-5.

² *Hidāja*, 25 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*, 30 [Arabic].

⁴ *Ibid.*, 35-92 [Arabic]

⁵ *Ibid.*, 26, 35-7 [Arabic]. Starting an argument with a proof of the existence of the Creator was common practice among the *kalām* thinkers, as well as Saadia, who follows their style. This tendency can be seen especially in his major philosophical work *Kitāb al-amānāt wa'l-i'tiqādāt*; Saadia Gaon, *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, trans. Rosenblatt. Cf. Malter, review of *Hidāja*, 379;

perceive God from the ‘viewpoint of His nature (*dhāt*)’.¹ We can perceive Him only from the creature’s standpoint;² hence the second chapter³ deals with contemplation (*i’tibār*) of created beings. The third chapter⁴ elucidates man’s duty to obey (*tā’a*) God, which should, he insists, follow the two principles of obligatory matters in the heart.⁵

The fourth chapter⁶ deals with total reliance upon God (*tawakkul*). Ibn Bāqūdā explains that God is the only being who is in charge of everything, including ‘gain and loss’.⁷ What humans can do is, therefore, to ‘surrender themselves completely (*istislām*) to Him’.⁸ Total reliance upon God is propitious in respect of both ‘belief and this world’.⁹ Correspondingly, he establishes the fifth principle¹⁰ as the devotion of all acts to God alone. Considering His unique nature, Ibn Bāqūdā explains that every action should be carried out for His sake with ‘the clarity of minds and the purity of hearts (*ṣafw al-ḍamā’ir wa-naqā’ al-qulūb*)’.¹¹

The sixth chapter¹² concerns humility (*tawāḍu’*). Humility may remove pride (*‘ujb*) with which actions can never be righteous. This is also the ‘basis of

Goodman, ‘Antinomy’, 116.

¹ *Hidāja*, 27 [Arabic].

² *Ibid.*, 27, 93-7 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*, 93-124 [Arabic].

⁴ *Ibid.*, 125-74 [Arabic].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27, 125-30 [Arabic].

⁶ *Ibid.*, 175-227 [Arabic].

⁷ النفع والضرر : benefit and damage. Mansoor renders them as ‘reward and punishment’ (*Direction*, 103) but this translation is misleading, since Ibn Bāqūdā does not talk about the consequences of human acts here (*Hidāja*, 27 [Arabic]).

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 175 [Arabic].

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 228-358 [Arabic].

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 228 [Arabic].

¹² *Ibid.*, 259-81 [Arabic].

worship', since humility 'separates the servant of God from the Divine qualities' which belong to God alone and never to created beings.¹ Humility is the beginning of repentance (*tawba*), hence the seventh principle² of obligatory matters in the heart is repentance. Ibn Bāqūdā states that through reasoning and the Book of God, it is clear that humans tend to 'fail to fulfil' their duty to obey God.³ He explains that since human natures are manifold, their activities also become varied. This can be proved logically and is frequently mentioned in the Bible. This is the reason why humans need the 'rein of law (*zimām sharī'a*)',⁴ and he insists that God gives humans opportunities to repent and return to their obligations after their deviation from them.⁵ One of the conditions of repentance is self-examination (*muḥāsibat al-naḥs*),⁶ which is the eighth principle.⁷ It can lead the self to rightness in both this world and the hereafter.⁸

The ninth chapter⁹ concerns renunciation (*zuhd*) of this world. Renunciation is an aspect of self-examination¹⁰ and the declaration of *tawḥīd* cannot be obtained without it. Ibn Bāqūdā states that true affirmation of *tawḥīd* can be achieved only through the 'completeness (*tāmm*)' of the heart which has abstained from the love of

¹ *Ibid.*, 259 [Arabic].

² *Ibid.*, 282-305 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*, 282 [Arabic].

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27-8, 282-3 [Arabic].

⁶ In the fifth section of the previous chapter on repentance, Ibn Bāqūdā enumerates the most important twenty conditions. One of them is self-censure. Although he uses *al-taqrī' wa'l-tawbīkh*, it seems that he means this condition as *al-muḥāsaba* in the eighth chapter (*ibid.*, 289 [Arabic]).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 302-53 [Arabic].

⁸ *Ibid.*, 28, 306 [Arabic].

⁹ *Ibid.*, 354-77 [Arabic].

¹⁰ Ibn Bāqūdā explains the thirty important aspects of self-examination, which cover all the duties of man to God (*ibid.*, 308-49 [Arabic]).

this world.¹ Renunciation is an obligation for believers and can bring them repose for ‘souls and bodies (*al-nufūs wa’l-ajsām*)’.² Ibn Bāqūdā frowns upon complete abstinence by created beings as this is against the moderate nature of the law. Instead, he looks with favour upon those who ‘hold the middle of the extreme edges of renunciation (*ḥudūd al-zuhd*)’, which is from worldly luxuries and longing for them.³

The last and most supreme principle is sincere love (*maḥabba*) for God.⁴ This tenth principle is the ‘utmost degree of the steps’ which Ibn Bāqūdā has explained in this book so far.⁵ Renunciation is to free the heart in order to devote itself to God alone. Believers can then truly realise their obligation of ‘fear (*khawf*) for God and love for Him’.⁶ This fear is ‘the goal of renunciation’ and ‘the closest stage to love’.⁷ Love for God is dedication of the soul (*naḥs*)⁸ which is yearning for God and His light. The soul is a spiritual (*rūḥānī*) substance which yearns for other spiritual beings, but is bound to a crude (*kathīf*) entity, the body. This is a test (*ikhtibār*) given by the Creator; the soul has to learn how to control this ‘coarse body’ which is ‘full of darkness’.⁹ It is therefore the obligation and longing of the human

¹ *Ibid.*, 28 [Arabic].

² *Ibid.*, 354 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*, 361 [Arabic]. He cites a verse from Isaiah to support his argument: ‘For thus saith the LORD that created the heavens; God himself that formed the earth and made it; he hath established it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited: I am the LORD; and there is none else’ (Isa. 45:18 (King James)).

⁴ *Hidāja*, 378-97 [Arabic].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 378 [Arabic].

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ نفس : up till now, this has been rendered as ‘self’, since in Sufism *naḥs* may also represent the lower self. However, here, Ibn Bāqūdā uses it as the opposite entity to the body. In this Neo-Platonic context, *naḥs* is generally translated as ‘soul’. From now on, this term will be rendered as either ‘self’ or ‘soul’, depending on the context.

⁹ *Hidāja*, 379 [Arabic].

soul to free the heart from the shackles of the body and this world, and to ‘unite (*ittaṣala*) with the light’ of God.¹ Ibn Bāqūdā claims that this highest stage is love for God.²

At the end of *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā adds ten couplets which sum up the main points of the ten chapters of his book. They are composed in Hebrew and, according to Goldstein, who translated them into English, the poem is written in rhyming couplets and a single acrostic of Ibn Bāqūdā’s name can be found with the first letter of each couplet.³ Ibn Bāqūdā composed another poem in Hebrew which is mentioned and partly quoted in a chapter of *al-Hidāya* on repentance⁴ and added at the end of the book. It is entitled ‘Admonition’ and has been used in Sefardi prayers on the Day of Atonement. Each section starts with ‘my soul (*nefeshī*)’ and Ibn Bāqūdā quotes Biblical texts throughout the poem.⁵

8.2.3 ARABIC SOURCES OF *AL-HIDĀYA*

From the general outline above, it appears that *kalām* argumentation, Sufi concepts and Jewish ethics coexist in *al-Hidāya*.⁶ It is, however, hard to tell when Ibn Bāqūdā refers to Muslim ideas, since he does not consistently mention the sources of his

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, 28, 378-9 [Arabic]. Cf. Mansoor, who gives a summary of *al-Hidāya* (*Direction*, 39-65), as does Goodman (*Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v. ‘Ibn Paquda, Bahya’). Vajda, in his *Théologie*, analyses the religious doctrines of Ibn Bāqūdā according to a chapter of *al-Hidāya*.

³ *Direction*, 447; *Hidāja*, 397-8 [Hebrew].

⁴ *Hidāja*, 295 [Arabic].

⁵ *Direction*, 452; *Hidāja*, 398-407 [Hebrew].

⁶ Lobel puts this characteristic as ‘the creative integration of philosophy, theology, Sufi mysticism, and rabbinic Judaism’ (*Dialogue*, xii).

quotations. For instance, he quotes a saying from one of the pious men who ‘met people returning from a war ... and told them: You came back, by praise of God, from the lesser *jihād* ... and [now] prepare yourself for the greater *jihād* ... [which is] against desire (*hawā*) and its soldiers’.¹ This is very likely based on a well-known *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad who emphasised the importance of the inner, greater *jihād*.² The lack of reference to sources is not unusual for the time of Ibn Bāqūdā and it requires more investigation to identify which anecdotes and sayings in *al-Hidāya* are of Islamic origin. It is, however, clear from what he wrote and the religious environment in which he lived, that the influence of Greek philosophy and Islamic religious thought is strong, and comprehension of *al-Hidāya* requires not only knowledge of Jewish traditions but also Arabic literature, including philosophy, *kalām* and Sufism.³

Ibn Bāqūdā’s philosophical and *kalām* arguments can be seen most clearly in the first chapter, where he proves the creation of the world and the existence of the Creator in order to affirm His creature’s obligation to declare His *tawḥīd*, and in the second chapter where he argues for a dual composition of creatures, as consisting of spiritual and material elements such as soul (*nafs*) and body (*jasad*).⁴ Ibn Bāqūdā

¹ *Hidāja*, 232 [Arabic].

² See, e.g. *Kashf*, 200. This *ḥadīth* also appears in the *Qūt* (2.521) but in a slightly different way. This point will be examined later. According to Fenton, ‘the penetration of Sufi concepts’, including this Tradition, into Hasidic writing is partly due to Ibn Bāqūdā (‘Judaeano-Arabic Mystical Writings’ in *Judaeano-Arabic Studies*, ed. Golb, 89 n. 7).

³ Malter states that ‘in the entire branch of Judaeano-Arabic literature there is hardly any other work of equal importance that is so thoroughly Mohammedan in style and diction’ (review of *Hidāja*, 380).

⁴ *Hidāja*, 100 [Arabic]. Cf. *Direction*, 159; Malter, ‘Personifications of Soul and Body’, 453.

emphasises the importance of rational speculation throughout his book and insists that it is man's duty to reason about intelligible matters.¹ In this sense, he is a philosopher. However, as mentioned above, *al-Hidāya* was written for religious people, not for philosophers, since philosophical argument is, for him, a tool to strengthen belief, as it was for many Jewish philosophers at that time.

Mystical tones can be found in various places, even in Chapters 1 and 2 where he is developing philosophical arguments. He states there clearly that his book is to elucidate 'inner knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-bāṭin*)',² as God cannot be known through imagination (*wahm*) and sensory perception (*ḥiss*).³ God comes closest to the heart when believers observe His traces (*āthār*); but He goes furthest if they observe Him by 'likening His nature (*tamaththul dhātihi*)' to something similar and 'giving a form (*taṣawwur*)' to Him.⁴ The utmost degree of His gnosis can be achieved when believers reach a stage where the heart is in contemplation of Divine nature only. Ibn Bāqūdā insists that believers should focus on His meaning rather than making images of Him and associating Him with something resembling. When all those images disappear from the soul (*naḥs*), God becomes inseparable from the believers.⁵ It is clear from this example that even the first two chapters of *al-Hidāya*,

¹ E.g. *Hidāja*, 41 [Arabic], where Ibn Bāqūdā emphasises the importance of طريق النظر and طريق القياس العقلي.

² *Ibid.*, 76 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*, 81 [Arabic]. This is similar to al-Ghazālī's claim in his autobiographical book that religion is beyond two general ways of perception, namely bodily senses and intellect (*Munqidh*, 4-6).

⁴ *Hidāja*, 81 [Arabic].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 81-2 [Arabic]. This is similar to Ibn al-ʿArabī's statement that images of God are based on something that is not God and his criticism of one who 'creates what he believes in himself through his consideration' (Chittick, *Sufi Path*, 350). The significant difference is that Ibn

where philosophical arguments are more prominent than in the other chapters, have a strong mystical tone. Together with the contents of the rest of the book and its very title, it is natural to consider that there is a mystical, and especially Sufi, influence upon *al-Hidāya*.¹

It has been pointed out that the writings of al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), Abu'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/955) and al-Makkī (d. 386/996) might have had an influence on *al-Hidāya*.² Ibn Bāqūdā does not mention any non-Jewish sources in his book and it is difficult to determine its Muslim sources, if there are any. The possible influence of al-Muḥāsibī and al-Makkī on *al-Hidāya* has probably been raised because they are notable writers on the matter of the heart among thinkers in Sufism, and clearly the central concern of *al-Hidāya* is the heart. However, this should not be taken to exclude the possibility of other Sufis' influence on Ibn Bāqūdā's work.³

As regards the poet al-Mutanabbī, Mansoor and Yahuda point to a verse in

al-ʿArabī condemns *kalām* thinkers for doing so and Ibn Bāqūdā accepts *kalām* argument.

¹ Regarding mystical aspects in Jewish tradition, some of Ibn Bāqūdā's ideas have been recognised as resembling certain concepts in the Kabbalistic tradition (cf. *Direction*, 43). Differences between Ibn Bāqūdā's and Kabbalistic views have been also noted (cf. *Dialogue*, 27, 215-16; *Théologie*, 141).

² E.g. *Direction*, 31-3. Yahuda, who claims that *al-Hidāya* was written in the twelfth century, compares the work with al-Ghazālī's *al-Ḥikma fī makhlūqāt Allā* (*Hidāya*, 63-70). However, it is more likely that *al-Hidāya* was written in around 1080, and it is impossible that Ibn Bāqūdā had an opportunity to read this work. (This was composed after the *Iḥyā'*, which started to be written after 1098, according to Hourani, 'Chronology', 229-300). Goodman states that 'it is no longer believed that al-Ghazali was a source' for Ibn Bāqūdā (*Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v.). For the various critiques of Yahuda's account of al-Ghazālī's influence on Ibn Bāqūdā, see *Direction*, 33-6. However, even though there is no direct connection between the two scholars, there is a possibility that they shared common sources, as Goodman also argues. Al-Ghazālī claims that the major sources of his mystical ideas include al-Makkī, al-Muḥāsibī and al-Junayd (*Munqidh*, 24). It is worth examining at least these three authors' writings in comparison with *al-Hidāya*.

³ E.g. Abu'l Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907-8) and his *Maqāmāt al-qulūb*.

al-Hidāya which can be found in the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, but was not translated by Judah and consequently is missing in many other renditions.¹ In his translation, Judah tried to substitute Arabic quotations with equivalent Hebrew verses, where possible. Al-Mutanabbī's verse might have been omitted during this replacement process without providing a substitute.² This de-Islamicisation, or at least de-Arabicisation, process may indicate that Judah was fully aware of the Islamic/Arabic sources. Apart from this particular verse, the link between al-Mutanabbī and *al-Hidāya* does not seem to have been discussed exhaustively and is left for further investigation.

As for the influence of al-Muḥāsibī, Vajda briefly mentions it³ and Mansoor also touches upon the possible impact of his writings on Ibn Bāqūdā's views of abstinence in Chapter 9. Mansoor states that it is difficult to trace whether his influence was direct or indirect, since later Sufī writings are greatly affected by al-Muḥāsibī and Ibn Bāqūdā might have been influenced by them, not necessarily directly from al-Muḥāsibī.⁴ Lobel expands this argument and compares the use of the specific term *ikhlāṣ*, which often appears in both *al-Hidāya* and the works of al-Muḥāsibī. She evaluates the use of *ikhlāṣ* in *al-Hidāya* and how this term is

¹ *Direction*, 33; *Hidāja*, 112. The poem at issue is: وإذا كانت النفوس كبارا تعبت في قال لنا قول الشارع: وإذا كانت النفوس كبارا تعبت في مرادها الأجسام (*ibid.*, 236 [Arabic]). Al-Makkī does not seem to quote this verse in the *Qūt*. Moreover, in the *Qūt*, the idea of *jism* is generally described as a counterpart of *qalb*, and *nafs* is treated as a lower self which should be controlled. The dichotomous view of *jism* and *nafs* in this citation does not appear to conform to al-Makkī's perspective on *jism* and *qalb*.

² *Hidāja*, 112-13; *Direction*, 33, 282.

³ E.g. *Théologie*, 49 n. 2, 107, 130 n. 3; Vajda, 'Dialogue de l'âme et de la raison', 101.

⁴ *Direction*, 32-3. Mansoor also mentions the possible influence of al-Muḥāsibī on a chapter of 'The Service of God' in *al-Hidāya*; however, it is not certain which chapter Mansoor designates by this title.

translated (and not translated) into Hebrew, and argues that Ibn Bāqūdā's application of the concept of *ikhlāṣ* has an Islamic connotation, which she compares to al-Muḥāsibī's use of the term.¹ This thesis limits its analysis to the putative connection between Ibn Bāqūdā and al-Makkī. However, it would be worth exploring other Arabic sources of *al-Hidāya*.

Both Mansoor and Lobel argue in favour of the influence of the *Qūt* on *al-Hidāya*. Mansoor admits that although Ibn Bāqūdā does not borrow al-Makkī's ideas blindly, many similarities can be found between their writings.² Lobel also mentions al-Makkī's *Qūt* from time to time,³ as does Yahuda.⁴ Vajda, on the other hand, claims that the *Qūt* exerted a significant influence on *al-Hidāya* and refers to al-Makkī throughout his treatise.⁵ However, none of them carries out a systematic comparison of apparent parallels in quotations, theme and structure between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*, which will be carried out in the next section.

¹ *Dialogue*, 152-4.

² *Direction*, 31-2. Mansoor mentions two of al-Makkī's writings: *Qūt al-qulūb* and *Ḥayāt al-qulūb*. It is not clear which book Mansoor means by the latter title. Interestingly, Yahuda also mentions that al-Makkī is the author of the *Qūt* and *Ḥayāt al-qulūb* (*Hidāja*, 59 n. 3). The latter is also referred to by Goldziher but he does not identify the author's name (review of *Hidāja*, 157). One of the editions of the *Qūt* has two books in the margin and one of them is entitled as *Ḥayāt al-qulūb fī kayfiyya al-wuṣūl ilā al-maḥbūb* written by 'Imād al-Dabbī al-Umūmī. There might be some connection between Mansoor and Yahuda's statements and this work in the margin; however, nothing is certain here.

³ *Dialogue*, e.g. 196, 198, 200 *et passim*.

⁴ *Hidāja*, e.g. 53, 59.

⁵ *Théologie*, e.g. 23, 139.

8.3 A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN THE *QŪT* AND *AL-HIDĀYA*

8.3.1 THE FRAMEWORK FOR A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN THE *QŪT* AND *AL-HIDĀYA*

Before analysing the possible link between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*, it is necessary to provide external evidence to prove that the *Qūt* could have been read in Islamic Spain at the time of Ibn Bāqūdā, as nobody seems to have explored this point. First of all, the issue of time (the timing of the completion of the books) and space (the geographical gap between Iraq and Spain) has to be overcome.

It is not certain when and where al-Makkī did his writing. But from the fact that he mentions his personal encounter with Ibn Sālim (d. ca. 356/967) which happened in Basra,¹ it could be assumed that the *Qūt* was written in either Basra and/or Baghdad, which was al-Makkī's next and final destination. The exact date of his encounter with Ibn Sālim is unknown. From his death date of 967 and al-Makkī's death in 996, we could only assume that the *Qūt* was probably written at some point in the latter half of the tenth century.

As regards Ibn Bāqūdā, he is considered to have spent his life either in Cordoba or Saragossa, and the latest studies show that he did his writing at the end of the eleventh century, or the beginning of the twelfth century at the latest. Between the completion dates of the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya* there thus appears to be approximately a hundred years, and this may be enough to cover the geographical gap between Iraq and Spain.²

¹ *Qūt*, 3.1202, 1318.

² For example, al-Ghazālī is said to have finished writing *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* at the beginning of

The next issue to be discussed is whether a copy of the *Qūt* actually existed in Islamic Spain during the life of Ibn Bāqūdā. Due to a paucity of information, only scanty evidence can be provided here. According to Sezgin, there exists a summary of the *Qūt* written by Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Saʿīd al-Andalusī (d. 485/1092).¹ His *nisba* seems to be able to connect al-Makkī to Islamic Spain; however, it is not certain where al-Andalusī did his writing. One manuscript of the *Qūt* has survived in the Escorial Library, which is written in Maghribi style,² but it is not dated. It is certain that the *Qūt* was read in the western part of the Islamic empire, although in a slightly later period, since two prominent Andalusian mystics, Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and al-Rundī (d. 792/1390), refer to al-Makkī in their writings, as seen in the previous chapter. However, there does not seem to exist any other external evidence which can show whether the *Qūt* existed in Spain in the late eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth century.

Lastly, assuming that the *Qūt* existed in the time of Ibn Bāqūdā, it should be asked whether it is possible that he read this book. This question is, however, almost impossible to answer with any certainty. If the book was available in Cordoba or Saragossa, and if Ibn Bāqūdā had access to it, it is likely that he read it, considering the religious environment in Islamic Spain and the popularity of the *Qūt*. Given the fact that Ibn Bāqūdā's main interest is the heart, or the inner aspects of religious life,

1095 in Baghdad (*EF*², s.v. (W.M. Watt)), and Ibn Rushd in Spain seems to have composed *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* at some point between 1174 and 1180 (*EF*², s.v. (R. Arnaldez)).

¹ GAS, 1.667.

² Ms. árabe 729, ff. 1-155.

the very title of the *Qūt* could have inspired him. In the introduction of *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā cites a saying ‘Whoever utters a wise word, even if he belongs to the Gentiles, is called a sage’.¹ This might indicate his intention to quote non-Jewish sayings in his book, and might justify his use of Muslim sources.

On the whole, it appears to be impossible, at this moment, to prove only from external evidence that Ibn Bāqūdā actually read the *Qūt*. At the same time, no evidence has been found which rules out this possibility. Allowing that this probability provides the basis for further argument, the rest of this chapter explores the actual texts to see if there is any link between the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*.

8.3.2 AIMS AND STRUCTURE

This section studies the contexts and contents of *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*. This is to avoid overemphasising textual parallels in certain expressions or short excerpts, since ignoring the whole context might lead us to misrepresent these similarities. It is possible that, despite the parallels, the aim and attitudes of the writings could be opposed to each other.² This section thus first examines the aims of the two books and their structure. The next section analyses their overall approach in order to form the basis of a further argument. Lastly, Ibn Bāqūdā’s perspective on the image of the heart will be explored in comparison with its treatment in the *Qūt*. The heart is the key idea and underlies all the religious concepts which are dealt in *al-Hidāya* and the

¹ *Hidāja*, 26 [Hebrew citation]; the translation is from *Direction*, 103.

² For critical evaluation of literary parallels, see Sandmel, ‘Parallelomania’; Davila, ‘The Perils of Parallels’.

Qūt.¹ The main concern here is not to force us to draw a causal connection between the two works, but to set the context in order to gain a better understanding of them.

Ibn Bāqūdā's aim in writing *al-Hidāya* is clearly expressed in the introduction. He states that the target audience of his book is those who are mistaken in their belief and are remiss in their religious duties; the book is structured in order to guide those who seek the inner knowledge which leads to God.² The purpose of the *Qūt*, on the other hand, is not stated so obviously; however, the intended reader appears to be, from its title, the novice who is striving to reach *tawḥīd*. It could be said that both books are written for religious people who would like to take the path which leads to God alone.

Concerning the structure, as shown before, all the chapters of *al-Hidāya* are closely linked and Ibn Bāqūdā develops a coherent argument which starts with the core of all religious duties, *tawḥīd*, and ends with their goal, love for God. Apart from this highest aim, all the nine obligations elucidated in *al-Hidāya* are equally essential and one cannot be fulfilled without the others. For instance, the declaration of *tawḥīd* is the basis from where all other obligations of the heart follow,³ but, at the same time, it cannot be achieved without renunciation, which is described in the ninth chapter.⁴ The arrangement of *al-Hidāya* is concerned with establishing a logical and lucid argument, rather than creating a hierarchy of the religious duties of

¹ For a comparative analysis of another important idea of both works, knowledge (*ʿilm* and *maʿrifā*), see Appendix IX.

² *Hidāja*, 5, 24, 29 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*, 26, 35 [Arabic].

⁴ *Ibid.*, 28, 354 [Arabic].

the heart.

With regard to the *Qūt*, this work begins with the description of various forms of outward conduct. Al-Makkī then elucidates more internal aspects of religious life, but he does not seem to give a strong structure to the last quarter of the book. The *Qūt*, in its entirety, is a book on ethics and al-Makkī illustrates various religious duties that believers should fulfil, both outwardly and inwardly. On the whole, the arrangement of the *Qūt* bears no comparison with the structure of *al-Hidāya*. There is no doubt that the latter is much more structured than the former. The chapters of *al-Hidāya* are organised coherently and it is easy to follow Ibn Bāqūdā's argument. The *Qūt* is arranged roughly according to a theme, apart from the assorted subjects which appear towards the end of the book; however, its logical flow is not as strong as that evinced by *al-Hidāya*.

Mansoor makes a brief comment that the structure of *al-Hidāya* accords closely with al-Makkī's nine religious stations (*maqāmāt*), which are elucidated in Section 32 of the *Qūt*. Ibn Bāqūdā does not borrow al-Makkī's ideas blindly, states Mansoor, but both of them put love for God as the highest stage for believers.¹ Among ten fundamental principles (*uṣūl*) of the heart's religious obligations in *al-Hidāya* and nine fundamental principles (*uṣūl*) of the stations of religious certainty in the *Qūt*,² four principles are shared: total reliance (upon God), repentance,

¹ *Direction*, 31-2. It is a brief comment and Mansoor does not expand his argument. He describes al-Makkī's nine stations as 'classification of the degrees of devoutness' or 'the nine degrees of knowledge'; however, the words 'devoutness' or 'knowledge' do not reflect the original meaning, 'religious certainty' (*yaqīn*) (*Direction*, 31; *Qūt* 2.499).

² *Hidāja*, the previous page of 6*, 6*-9* [Arabic]; *Qūt* 2.499. See the table in Appendix VIII.

renunciation and love (for Him). Apart from these, the two sets of religious notions do not seem to correspond to each other. Furthermore, the essential features of having these principles are different in the two books.

Ibn Bāqūdā arranges ten gates in his book in order to maintain a logical flow by which he hopes to be able to convince his reader to fulfil the heart's religious obligations.¹ Al-Makkī's categories, on the other hand, are ascending stations. They are the conditions of those possessing religious certainty and each subdivision is a station to the next one. Mansoor appears to compare *al-Hidāya* only with the section of the *Qūt* where those stations are identified. It is, however, important to study the whole *Qūt* in contrast with *al-Hidāya*. The nature of Ibn Bāqūdā's ten obligations is different from that of al-Makkī's stations, or the mystical stations in general which are repeatedly referred to in discussions of progress along the spiritual path.

Ibn Bāqūdā's duties should also be distinguished from mystical states (*aḥwāl*), which are often used to describe a certain psychological condition which occurs on the path towards God. Unlike mystical stations, those states are generally considered to be impossible to be reached by human effort alone; they can be attained with the help of Divine grace.² *Al-Hidāya* is a book on religious obligations which Ibn Bāqūdā insists that believers must make an effort to fulfil. Consequently, unattainable mystical states cannot be directly comparable to Ibn Bāqūdā's ten duties of the heart. Al-Makkī states that the mystical stations are to 'remain and persist';

¹ Ibn Bāqūdā describes the first nine chapters as the preceding duties which lead a believer to the highest stage of faith, pure love for God (*Hidāja*, 383 [Arabic]).

² Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, 21.

whereas the mystical states which are ‘the gift from God Most High’, are changeable and transient, and to be established in the heart.¹ In light of these temporary mystical states, an echo can be found between Ibn Bāqūdā’s religious principles and al-Makkī’s stations in the limited sense that both are considered as mandatory by the authors, as well as gates through which believers can become closer to God.

It could be said that the arrangement of *al-Hidāya* manifests two modes. If the nature of Ibn Bāqūdā’s fundamental principles is not concerned, the very idea of dividing religious duties into subdivisions is shared between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*, and so are some of their themes. This technique can also be seen in al-Makkī’s contemporaries’ treatises: al-Sarrāj’s *Luma’* and al-Kalābādhī’s *al-Ta’arruf*,² but not in, for instance, Saadia’s book which Ibn Bāqūdā recommends his reader to consult.³ However, starting the argument by proving the existence of the Creator is shared between *al-Hidāya* and Saadia’s *Doctrines and Beliefs*,⁴ following the *kalām* tradition; but not with the *Qūt* (or the *Luma’* or *al-Ta’arruf*). The arrangement of *al-Hidāya*, therefore, might be a product of these two different trends in Arabic religious literature.

¹ *Qūt* 2.1164-5. Al-Makkī does not enumerate the states.

² Al-Sarrāj provides the definition of mystical stations and states, and enumerates seven stations and nine states (*Luma’*, 41-72 [Arabic]). Al-Kalābādhī describes religious states briefly and lists seventeen stations (*Ta’arruf*, 86-9, 92-111).

³ Ibn Bāqūdā does not mention the name of the books (*Hidāja*, 33 [Arabic]); however, Saadia’s *magnum opus*, *The Book of Doctrines and Beliefs*, does not show the technique which is used in the *Qūt*.

⁴ This book starts with elucidation of ‘creatio ex nihilo’ and ‘the unity of the Creator’ (Saadia, *Doctrines and Beliefs*).

8.3.3 APPROACH

Regarding the approach to the subject matter, the same technique can be seen in *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*. Both cite respective religious doctrines and their exegeses by sages. *Al-Hidāya* is full of quotations of the Scripture, the Talmud and the Midrashim; likewise, the *Qūt* is filled with Qur'anic verses and *ḥadīth*. Both works contain many sayings of sages sometimes with reference to their sources and other times without. These citations are used to support their arguments, but, at the same time, the topics of the books are treated as the natural outcome of the interpretation of the respective religious texts.

In other words, these two books appear to have been written on the assumption that their themes are evident extensions of the Scriptures and interpretive tradition. Ibn Bāqūdā insists in his introduction that the importance of fulfilling the heart's religious obligations is clearly shown in many places in the Scriptures and repeatedly expressed by pious ancestors; but, since nobody had explored this issue exhaustively, he decided to do it by himself.¹ As for al-Makkī, although he is never as explicit as Ibn Bāqūdā, the thirty-three Qur'anic verses, which are the only component of the first two sections of the *Qūt*,² affirm the significance of right conduct in this world and also signal the motivation of al-Makkī to write the *Qūt*.

It is clear that in both *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*, quotations from religious texts and pious sayings are used to underpin their claims and justify their arguments;

¹ *Hidāja*, 8 [Arabic].

² *Qūt*, 1.9-10.

however, it is dubious whether this proves anything. So far, we have seen that *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* show a similar approach to their theses, and use a similar technique for their topics. However, it could be said that this is a fairly standard way of dealing with religious issues and does not necessarily establish a link between them. Although this is not to deny the possibility of a significant connection, this resemblance may begin to break down as they discuss the external duties upon believers.

The most obvious contrast in approach would be their treatment of outward aspects of religious life. Unlike the *Qūt*, *al-Hidāya* does not give a detailed account of the external conduct of believers. The *Qūt* explains what believers ought to do on a practical everyday level; for instance, the virtue of prayer from Monday to Sunday,¹ recommended Qur'ānic verses after the morning prayer,² food, travel, trade³ and so on. The book was written for novices and this might be one of the reasons the *Qūt* takes a pragmatic approach. This demonstrates a significant difference from *al-Hidāya*.

Ibn Bāqūdā seems to value the significance of having right intention;⁴ however, his book does not provide practical examples. Ibn Bāqūdā claims that religious obligations can be fulfilled only with both knowledge and action, and there are 613 duties upon the body, while the number of duties of the heart are

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.80-4.

² *Ibid.*, 1.15-19.

³ *Ibid.* 3.1405-21, 1523-32, 1654-710 respectively.

⁴ *Hidāja*, 11 [Arabic].

innumerable.¹ He quotes the Talmud, 'He who only occupies himself with the study of the Torah is as if he had no God',² and states the importance of combining study with practice based on a pure heart.³ At the same time, he insists that fulfilling the heart's religious duties can balance both the inner and the outer obligations to God.⁴ His view of the superiority of the heart might be the reason he does not elucidate external aspects of religious life in *al-Hidāya*. It might be because of his hurry to finish his book as he mentions,⁵ or he might have thought that they would be just obvious to any Jew. It is, however, also possible that Ibn Bāqūdā does not lay the same amount of importance on bodily duties as does the *Qūt*.

According to al-Makkī, external knowledge, which concerns actions of the body, and internal knowledge, which concerns those of the heart, are interdependent. These two types of knowledge cannot exist without each other, just as in the case of the relationship between the body and the heart. Their status accords with that of a grain which has a skin and an inside. Both the exterior and the interior together comprise the grain; the difference in their natures does not result in two grains existing separately. The relationship between outer and inner knowledge, and the body and heart, is the same. Al-Makkī explains their interrelationship as, 'Islam is the exterior of belief (*īmān*) and it is the actions of bodily members, while belief is

¹ *Ibid.*, 12-13. The 613 is the total number of Biblical commandments in Jewish tradition. Ibn Bāqūdā does not explain the detail of those bodily obligations, while Maimonides elucidates them in detail in his book (*The Commandments*, trans. C.B. Chavel, 2 vols., London; New York: Soncino Press, 1967).

² *Babylonian Talmud*, 'Abodah Zarah 17b, 89.

³ *Hidāja*, 19 [Arabic].

⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 [Arabic].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30 [Arabic].

the interior of Islam and it is the actions of hearts'.¹ Islam is the manifestation of belief. Belief is not as obvious as external deeds but this is what connects the exterior and interior of religious life. The *Qūt* claims that both aspects are necessary for believers.²

The *Qūt* still emphasises the superiority of inner knowledge over outer knowledge, since the former has control over the latter.³ However, external knowledge should not be ignored, since it is 'the proof of God' and unawareness of this knowledge leads to unbelief.⁴ Al-Makkī quotes a saying of al-Junayd who tells Sārī al-Saqāṭī that one must have a sound base of external knowledge of belief, such as *ḥadīth* and *sunna*, before taking a Sufi path, since it is the root of faith.⁵ It appears to be important for al-Makkī not only that one be knowledgeable about the inner aspects of belief, but also that one combine them with the outward features of religion and thus make right bodily actions according to the knowledge of the heart.

Like the *Qūt*, *al-Hidāya* is a moral guide, as evidenced by the title. It describes a model mindset for believers and attempts to elucidate internal religious phenomena in a logical way. The main concern of this book is the attitudes of believers' hearts towards God, not their external behaviour. In its sense of guidance, *al-Hidāya* resembles the *Qūt*, but without the explanation of external religious elements.

¹ *Qūt*, 3.1284.

² *Ibid.*, 1.366. Almost the same argument can be seen in *ʿIlm*, 52; the latter expands the argument. For the relationship between knowledge and action, see esp. *ibid.*, 51-6.

³ *Qūt*, 1.436.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.406.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.428.

As a précis of the argument, it could be remarked so far that the purposes of writing *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* show similarities. Nevertheless, there are barely any parallels in their overall arrangement. It is possible to spot a shared structural element between the nine religious stations in the *Qūt* and the ten gates of *al-Hidāya*. At the same time, Ibn Bāqūdā's way of opening his book appears to adopt the style of Saadia and/or Jewish theologians and philosophers who adopted *kalām* methods of argumentation. The content of all ten religious obligations in *al-Hidāya* do not match the religious stations in the *Qūt*; however, they do resonate with the overall themes of the *Qūt*. Concerning the inner features of religious life, the two books treat of similar subject matters and use equivalent materials. Mere observation of the chapter titles of *al-Hidāya* would not reveal its Jewish origin. If there were no Biblical citations, one might consider *al-Hidāya* as a Sufi work.

The major difference between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* lies in the method of argumentation. Ibn Bāqūdā follows a line of reasoning and analyses his materials in a logical way. He emphasises the importance of the use of intellect in progressing to knowledge of the Divine.¹ Intellect is of prime importance throughout *al-Hidāya* and Ibn Bāqūdā's manner of elucidation consistently remains at an intelligible level. Al-Makkī, likewise, emphasises the importance of knowledge, since belief, to him, is

¹ *Hidāja*, 4 [Arabic].

knowledge,¹ but this knowledge comes together with proper actions both inwardly and outwardly.

This is another occasion where an alleged parallel between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* falls down. The latter attaches great importance to outward conduct, while the former treats inward matters only. This characteristic seems to follow the philosophical tradition rather than Sufism. Lobel calls this tendency ‘philosophical mysticism’,² describing Ibn Bāqūdā’s logical argumentation regarding mystical themes. However, it is not only mysticism which is treated in his book. It does not even seem to be his intention to elucidate mysticism. Although mystical tones and themes can be seen throughout *al-Hidāya*, the main concern of the book is religious ethics based on rational belief. Considering the aim, structure and overall approach alone, we cannot confirm the influence of the *Qūt* on *al-Hidāya*. The last section therefore looks at the contents of the books in more detail through the key religious idea which is shared between them – the heart.

8.3.4 A RELIGIOUS IDEA OF THE HEART

In the introduction to *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā claims that through the reading of the Book of God, the sayings of sages, and reasoning, he has come to the conclusion that there is an urgent need for the heart to perform certain essential matters of religion.³

¹ E.g. *Qūt*, 1.383-4: al-Makkī quotes Qura’nic verses to support his argument, 58:11, 4:162, 3:7, 30:56.

² *Dialogue*, xii.

³ *Hidāja*, 10 [Arabic].

He states that a human is a combined entity of body (*jasad*) and soul (*nafs*); the former is exterior (*ẓāhir*) and the latter is interior (*bāṭin*). They are God's blessings and accordingly, insists Ibn Bāqūdā, it is man's obligation to obey Him both outwardly and inwardly. External duties are those of the limbs; such as prayer and fasting. A human body is capable of performing them. Internal duties, on the other hand, can be demonstrated only in an internal way, namely in the performances of the heart.¹

Inward obligations, many of which are elucidated in *al-Hidāya*, can be fulfilled without expressing themselves in bodily activity. External tasks, on the other hand, can only be accomplished when they accord closely with those of the internal. Ibn Bāqūdā emphasises that the 'religious duties of hearts' are the 'foundations (*qawā'id*) of all the obligations'.² It is the heart, therefore, which has control over the actions of the body. It is also the heart which is the measurement of God's reward, as a good bodily deed without a good intention would not be considered to be good.³ Differentiation of the heart from the body can be also seen in the *Qūt*. Like Ibn Bāqūdā, al-Makkī attaches the heart to internal qualities and the body to external features.⁴ Al-Makkī says that the heart belongs to the Divine sphere, where God bestows the ability of love (*raghbūt*) and awe (*rahbūt*),⁵ and where God shines with

¹ *Ibid.*, 8 [Arabic].

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 8-9 [Arabic].

⁴ *Qūt*, 1.324.

⁵ Or 'yearning and fear' (*ibid.*). For more detail of these two concepts, see Ch. 4.2, footnotes to [20]. In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī describes *raghba* and *rahba* as human characteristics which God bestowed, and a basis of the majority of humans' actions (*Qūt*, 3.1550, 1579).

his might.

Love (*raghba*) and awe (*rahba*) are twin concepts used to describe human characteristics, and they can be also seen employed in *al-Hidāya*. They are described as a man's ability with which pure love for God (*maḥabba*) can be sought.¹ Ibn Bāqūdā uses the term 'fear (*khawf*)' to illustrate the closest gate to the goal of believers, love for God. This word appears throughout *al-Hidāya*, especially in its last chapter on love,² and Ibn Bāqūdā explains that the highest stage of this fear is equivalent to the Hebrew term *yir'āh*, which can be found in the Scripture.³ It should be pointed out that Ibn Bāqūdā differentiates the term *khawf* from *rahba*, which comes together with *raghba*. He also differentiates *maḥabba* from *raghba*. Both the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya* treat *rahba* and *raghba* together as human characteristics in the heart, and *maḥabba* as the highest station of believers. The *khawf* is described as a state which comes just before love for God in *al-Hidāya*,⁴ while, in the *Qūt*, it is the fifth station among nine stations to religious certainty in the heart.⁵

This parallel seems to break down here, since al-Makkī puts fear (*khawf*) before renunciation (*zuhd*) while Ibn Bāqūdā insists that fear is the goal of renunciation and the closest stage to the highest aim, love for God. However, al-Makkī puts a section on fear in the chapter on love and explains that love and fear

¹ *Hidāja*, 386 [Arabic].

² *Ibid.*, 378-97 [Arabic].

³ *Ibid.*, 387 [Arabic].

⁴ Mansoor translate both *khawf* and *rahba* as 'fear', and *maḥabba* and *raghba* as 'love' throughout the last chapter, but they might require clarification (*Direction*, 426-46).

⁵ See the table in Appendix VIII.

are interdependent and cannot be achieved without each other.¹ Fear, for al-Makkī, is the essence of *taqwā*² which brings together devotional service to God,³ as this is necessary knowledge of the Divine.⁴

Al-Makkī insists that true belief cannot be achieved as long as love of this world and desire (*hawā*) stay in the heart.⁵ Ibn Bāqūdā explains that he has written his chapter on renunciation just before the chapter on love, as the goal of renunciation is to remove love of this world and lusts (*shahwāt*) for it.⁶ This issue keeps appearing both in the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*. According to al-Makkī, evil and the evil self manifest themselves only by desire and ignorance. Desire keeps believers attached to this world and detached from their God-fearing duties.⁷ The same line of thought can be seen in Ibn Bāqūdā's aforementioned citation of the lesser and greater *jihād* where he explains that the greater *jihād* is against desire and its soldiers.⁸

Al-Makkī states that ignorance (*jahl*), inattention (*ghafla*) and occupation with trivial matters of this world (*ṭalab fuḍūl dunyā*) damage the heart. Believers have to fight against them by controlling their selves, the evil and their body, because God created this world as a test for believers, to see if they can renounce it.⁹

¹ *Qūt* 2.1070-9, esp. 1075.

² This term often appears in the *Qūt* with a mixture of meanings involving fear of God, warding off evil and duty to God. See Ch. 4.2, footnotes to [15].

³ *Qūt*, 2.616.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.680.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.343. See also Ch. 4.2, the footnotes of [16].

⁶ *Hidāja*, 379 (cf. 131) [Arabic]. See Ch. 4.2, footnotes to [23].

⁷ *Qūt*, 1.323-4.

⁸ *Hidāja*, 232 [Arabic]. Cf. Mansoor, who renders *hawā* as 'instinct' here (*Direction*, 277).

⁹ *Qūt*, 1.345.

According to Ibn Bāqūdā, what prevents a believer from performing the heart's obligations is love of this world and ignorance of God.¹ Love of this world, ignorance and greed are similarly treated by al-Makkī as the very cause of the appearance of desire. According to him, its manifestation in the heart depends on the control of those three evil sources.²

In the *Qūt*, the heart of a believer is described as the only place where God resides on the earth. But this heart has to be pure and free from unbelief and hypocrisy, as these can extinguish the light of the heart.³ Ibn Bāqūdā, likewise, states that having gnosis of God in the heart and all the earthly desires and cravings exterminated, the heart can be filled with love for God. The fire of desire will then seem to be like the light of a lamp in front of the light of obedience to God, which shines like the sun during the daytime.⁴ According to Ibn Bāqūdā, the body belongs to this world, and the heart to the hereafter. This is why the 613 bodily commandments have to be fulfilled with a pure heart. The heart can be cleansed by inner knowledge, which is elucidated in *al-Hidāya*.⁵ Likewise, a harmonious relationship between belief, heart and action is highly esteemed in the *Qūt*.⁶

Up to this point, the ideas and arguments of Ibn Bāqūdā and al-Makkī on the matter of the heart could be said to be in parallel. However, this putative parallel breaks down with respect to two important concepts, namely reason and *nafs* – self

¹ *Hidāja*, 12 [Arabic].

² *Qūt*, 1.332-3.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.334.

⁴ *Hidāja*, 393 [Arabic].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 392, 394 [Arabic].

⁶ *Qūt*, 1.340.

or soul. According to al-Makkī, the light of religious certainty fills the heart of the believer when the three indispensable elements of the heart work appropriately. They are belief, knowledge and reason.¹ Belief and knowledge pertain to the heart, whereas reason is a tool of both the heart and the body, and so is desire. Reason and desire are a pair of measurements which God bestowed upon humans. The former functions as guidance, while the latter as seduction. They are a test of God to assess whether a believer makes the right decision. Unlike desire, reason can work for both good and evil, and it is the believer's choice as how to use his reason.² In the *Qūt*, reason is described as twofold. It can be useful and harmful. However, its basic status is contrary to that of religious certainty. Reason belongs to this world, with the self (*nafs*) and the enemy, while religious certainty belongs to the Divine sphere, together with the soul (*rūh*) and the angel.³

This is significantly different from Ibn Bāqūdā's beliefs. To him, reason is vital. Rational thinking is encouraged and recommended throughout *al-Hidāya*. Humans are rational beings and he insists in the introduction that the basis of the heart's obligations lies in reason.⁴ His whole book is based on rational argument, and Ibn Bāqūdā claims that believers need to use their reason and speculate on what they have learnt from religious tradition until falsity is eliminated and truth becomes unimpaired.⁵ This line of thought cannot be found in the *Qūt*.

¹ *Ibid.*, 1.328.

² *Ibid.*, 1.324-5.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.343.

⁴ *Hidāja*, 6 [Arabic].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 16 [Arabic].

As for the concept of *nafs*, al-Makkī differentiates the self (*nafs*) from the soul (*rūḥ*) in the matter of the heart, and decides that the self is blameworthy. It associates with the enemy through desire and ignorance. On the other hand, the soul is praiseworthy, and it manifests itself with the angels by truth and knowledge.¹ A dichotomous view can be also found in *al-Hidāya*, but in a slightly different way. As mentioned above, Ibn Bāqūdā considers a human to be a composite of the body and the soul (*nafs*). In his argument, it appears that this *nafs* and the heart are interchangeable. Ibn Bāqūdā explains that the body is part of this world, while the heart belongs to the hereafter. Believers are supposed to disregard their bodies and earthly issues, and focus their souls and hearts on religious practices and obedience to God.² In *al-Hidāya*, the *nafs* and the heart designate the same internal element of the human, which stands in an opposite relation to the exterior of human beings, the body. It is worth mentioning that, in a citation regarding lesser *jihād* and greater *jihād*, al-Makkī's greater struggle is that of the self (*nafs*) against its desire,³ whereas Ibn Bāqūdā names only desire as the target against which the greater *jihād* should be fought.⁴ Here again, the *nafs* is not treated as an enemy by Ibn Bāqūdā.

The argumentation of *al-Hidāya* preserves a hybrid of Sufi and Islamic philosophical approaches. The importance of the heart as the only entity which can reflect Divine light is an important notion among Sufis who condemn the lower self,

¹ *Qūt*, 1.324. For a detailed discussion, see Ch. 4.2 [18]-[22].

² *Hidāja*, 392 [Arabic].

³ *Qūt*, 2.521.

⁴ *Hidāja*, 232 [Arabic].

nafs, or at least advocate control over the self in order to purify the heart.¹ Ibn Bāqūdā seems to adopt the former concept, namely the significance of performing the heart's religious duties. However, he does not follow the concept of the lower self in Sufi tradition. Here, he seems to adopt the *kalām* argument which divides humans into two components, the soul (*nafs*) and the body. This may be the reason Ibn Bāqūdā does not distinguish the heart and *nafs*, but treats both of them as an internal human feature.

8.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has discussed the possible influence of the *Qūt* on *al-Hidāya* through their aim, structure, approach and views of the important concept which is shared between the two books – the heart. Various similarities are found in the contents and terminologies,² while interesting contrasts are also seen, especially in the manner of argument and the views of reason and *nafs*. However, based on what has been looked at in this chapter, it appears to be clear that a direct link cannot be easily established between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*.

Four major difficulties exist in making a connection between the two books. First of all, empirical evidence is lacking which proves that Ibn Bāqūdā had a chance to read the *Qūt*. Second, he does not mention any Muslim sources, and thus, in the light of the previous point, any possible link has accordingly to be established

¹ For the mystical concept of the heart, see Ch. 3.1.1.

² See Appendix IX, where no stark contrast can be found in the views of knowledge in the *Qūt* and *al-Hidāya*.

through examination of the contents.

The third difficulty lies in the language of *al-Hidāya*, Judaeo-Arabic. This is a written Arabic which was used mainly by the Jewish citizens in the Muslim Empire. Judaeo-Arabic was developed in order to fill the gap between their spoken, simplified Arabic (sometimes called Middle Arabic) and written, complicated Classical Arabic. Blau points out that Judaeo-Arabic literature shows a wide range of styles with ‘infinitely varied mixtures’ of Classical Arabic and Middle Arabic,¹ with Hebrew elements.² Due to the heterogeneous nature of Judaeo-Arabic, it has to be taken into consideration that Ibn Bāqūdā might have modified terms and sentences, if he ever indeed borrowed ideas from Muslim sources. Consequently, there are limits to the extent to which *al-Hidāya* can be compared with any kind of Arabic text at a linguistic level, and the bulk of comparison has to be done at the level of ideas. However, ideas are very difficult to track down, causing problems in establishing links between texts.

The last difficulty lies in the shared heritage between Judaism and Islam. *Al-Hidāya* appears to be an integration of Sufism, philosophy and rabbinical teachings. It is not impossible that Ibn Bāqūdā consulted the *Qūt*, considering the contents of the book, a certain amount of resemblance between the two books and the social interaction between Jews and Muslims in Islamic Spain. However, those

¹ Blau enumerates three main kinds: ‘some kind of Classical Arabic with Middle Arabic admixture’, ‘semi-Classical Middle Arabic’ and ‘some kind of “classicized” Middle Arabic’ (*Judaeo-Arabic*, 25).

² The extent of Hebrew elements varies; however, they are sometimes found in syntax and morphology (*ibid.*, 133-66).

similarities could be a parallel development, having no direct connection. Due to the shared materials between Judaism and Islam, it is likely that a similar conclusion will be drawn whenever Jewish or Muslim scholars encounter apparently parallel problems in their respective religions.

It is also true that the shared heritage between the two religions makes it easy to borrow ideas from each other. The essential ideas of *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* seem to contain nothing which could be considered to be incompatible with the other faith. Both works are filled with citations of the Books, traditions and religious authorities to support arguments. However, this does not rule out the possibility that those arguments could be adopted by the other belief, since a change in the source of citations does not necessarily affect the overall ideas. Dynamics between Jewish and Islamic traditions in medieval Spain took place in a particular socio-political environment, but the nature of the two religions would be also an important factor in facilitating the interaction between Jewish and Muslim scholars. When nothing is recognisably Jewish or Islamic, universalism of mystical and philosophical thoughts seems to win over the particularism of the two religions.

This chapter could not establish a direct link between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*; however, it finds no evidence to rule out this possibility. It is important not to force the comparison, but it seems to be equally important not to avoid it. There are plenty of other themes to investigate among the two books. Possible links between *al-Hidāya* and *kalām*, al-Mu‘tazilites, Muslim philosophers and other Arabic sources,

such as al-Muḥāsibī and al-Mutanabbī, will be interesting topics to explore. This chapter has examined the connections between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*, but the idea that these two in fact share a common source is also worth studying. Linguistically, the consequences of the use of Judaeo-Arabic could also give another perspective to *al-Hidāya*. Ibn Bāqūdā and his book have not been discussed exhaustively in Islamic studies and more analysis using Arabic and Muslim sources is awaited.

CONCLUSIONS

The main aims of this thesis have been to evaluate the present status of scholarship on al-Makkī, and to consolidate and expand this work so as to provide a solid basis for further research on him. Previous study of al-Makkī has tended to be restricted to the field of Sufism. This thesis, however, has shown a wide range of areas where al-Makkī can be discussed, much wider than one may have expected.

Five issues were addressed at the beginning of this thesis. Part 1 analysed modern scholarship on al-Makkī, showcasing various works which refer to him. This served also to demonstrate the paucity of studies which focuses particularly on al-Makkī and his writing. Concerning the second issue, regarding the lack of a critical edition of the *Qūt*, this thesis proposed the use of the 2001 copy, edited by al-Raḍwānī. In Part 2, using this properly edited version of the *Qūt* and the *Nahrung*, the present study attempted to examine the nature of this writing by exploring its contents and the religious authorities it cites, and comparing these with its contemporaries.

This thesis chose to focus on the religious idea of the heart, which underpins the thought of al-Makkī in his *Qūt*. The translated part of the work has shown what kind of function the author attached to the heart in his belief. The spiritual capacity of this bodily organ is often discussed in various cultures. By looking at this common idea, Chapter 4 tried to understand the essential features of the *Qūt* within the context not only of Sufism or Islam, but also religion in general.

Chapter 5 analysed the authenticity of the *ʿIlm*, exploring both external and internal evidence. This thesis has come to the conclusion that the *ʿIlm* is not a product of al-Makkī's own pen. Although the author of the *ʿIlm* should from now on be called pseudo-al-Makkī, this work nevertheless reflects the teaching of al-Makkī and contains a lost treatise of Khargūshī, *al-Ishāra*. Like the *Qūt*, the *ʿIlm* is a work on piety and this chapter shows that the latter still provides various topics to explore, even though its author is different from the author of the *Qūt*.

Part 3 of this thesis tackles the fourth issue: the limited extent of the study of al-Makkī. Chapters 6 and 7 show the significant influence of al-Makkī on numerous thinkers in Islam, not only al-Ghazālī, but also al-Suhrawardī, Ibn al-ʿArabī, Rūmī and al-Rundī. This section also demonstrates the intellectual interaction between al-Makkī and various Ḥanbalī scholars, such as Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Taymiyya and possibly ʿAbd al-Qādir. After examining the religious authorities cited in the *Qūt* and the ways in which this work is perceived in historical accounts, this thesis crystallises the *ḥadīth*-oriented nature of the *Qūt*. This is another area which calls for further exploration in the study of al-Makkī.

The last chapter examines the possible link between the *Qūt* and the Jewish pious writing, *al-Hidāya*. In order to avoid drawing unwarranted conclusions, this thesis takes a careful approach to this comparative analysis and it may well have demonstrated more difficulties than solutions. However, it is hoped that this chapter not only expands the area of the study of the *Qūt*, but also sheds new light on the last

and underlying theme of this thesis: how to study al-Makkī.

Al-Makkī talks about ethics in the *Qūt*. In his writing, al-Makkī seems almost to attempt to codify the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and sayings of worthy ancestors, in order to show what a pious way of life is. Piety and ethics might not be identical. However, religion often defines codes of behaviour, and in the *Qūt*, pious conduct and ethical behaviour seem to be treated in the same way. Piety does not require logical comprehension of the mechanism of belief. In his writing, al-Makkī encourages the reader to accept the unavoidable fact that there exists a sphere which human ability cannot reach. He clearly divides Divinity from humanity, as his belief appears to be based on the acknowledgement of the limit of man's faculties.

Arberry once described Sufism as being a mystical reaction to an 'uncompromising' monotheism, in order to satisfy a believer's 'yearning' to gain first-hand experience of the Truth.¹ By emphasising the omnipotence of God, both al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā automatically emphasise the gap between Him and His created beings. The two authors employ the heart as a bridge between the physical world and the spiritual world, as well as the human sphere and the Divine sphere. This might have stemmed from their ardent search for a pious way of life, in accordance with the moral values set out by God. This line of thought might, at the same time, be aptly described as 'mysticism'. It is not, however, certain whether al-Makkī and Ibn Bāqūdā considered themselves specifically to be mystics.

This study has aimed at providing a solid foundation and opening avenues

¹ *Sufism (A)*, 12.

for further research on al-Makkī. It is hoped that this thesis has not only widened the study of al-Makkī beyond mysticism, but that it will also lead to more exploration of this complex phenomenon within and beyond Islam.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: EARLY SOURCES

The earliest extant source which mentions al-Makkī appears to be *al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* ('What is Approved amongst the Principles of Religion') composed by a Ḥanbalī scholar Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066). Al-Makkī is quoted five times in this book.¹ However, since *al-Mu'tamad* is not meant to be a work of *ṭabaqāt* literature, the author does not provide any information about al-Makkī's life. The earliest extant book which mentions a personal account about him seems to be *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* ('The History of Baghdad') by Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071).² This famous work contains a short but valuable sketch of al-Makkī's life, which is frequently quoted by later authors.

Among other early accounts, al-Makkī is also mentioned in *al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa* ('Homonymous Lineages') by Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Maqdisī Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 507/1113),³ *al-Ansāb* ('Lineages') by Tāj al-Dīn Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1166),⁴ *al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīkh al-duwal wa'l-umam* ('Systematic Arrangement in the History of States and Communities') by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200)⁵ and the *Wafayāt al-a'yān* ('Obituaries of Famous People') by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282).⁶

This section provides the whole translation of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's

¹ *Mu'tamad*, 175, 176, 178, 186, 206.

² *Ta'rīkh* 3.89.

³ Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Ansāb*, 153-4. Amin claims that this work is no longer extant but this is a false statement (Amin, 21, 23), which is repeated in his article ('al-Makkī', 75).

⁴ Al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 541.

⁵ *Muntaẓam*, 7.189-90.

⁶ *Wafayāt* 4.303-4.

narrative of al-Makkī. Ibn al-Qaysarānī uses al-Khaṭīb's report almost *verbatim* and al-Sam'ānī copies Ibn al-Qaysarānī's account virtually word for word. Neither of them adds anything new about al-Makkī unlike Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Khallikān. Therefore, the translation of the new information added by the latter two is presented in this section. The *Ta'rīkh*, *al-Muntazam* and the *Wafayāt* can be said to be the key early sources for the life of al-Makkī, and their accounts are often cited in later literature. This section also offers a translation of a short narrative of al-Makkī in *Nafaḥāt al-uns* ('Breezes of Intimacy'), composed by the notable Persian poet 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492).¹ This work seems to be the first Sufī hagiography which mentions al-Makkī's life, when classical Sufī literature keeps silent about him.²

i. *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī is a famous preacher and *ḥadīth* scholar from near Baghdad. His monumental work, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, contains approximately eight thousand figures who had some connection with Baghdad. This work is often considered as one of the first general biographical dictionaries; however, he compiled the *Ta'rīkh* as a reference book for *ḥadīth* scholars by providing numerous *ḥadīth* transmitters.

¹ Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 121.

² Such as al-Sulamī's *Tabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Abū Nu'aym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, al-Qushayrī's *Risālat*, Hujwīrī's *Kashf al-maḥjūb* and 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*. Al-Makkī does appear in non-biographical Sufī writings.

Through his life, al-Khaṭīb's main concern lies in Tradition, as Ibn Khallikān reports his precise knowledge of *ḥadīth* in the *Wafayāt*.¹ In an account of al-Makkī, al-Khaṭīb writes:²

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyya Abū Ṭālib is generally known as al-Makkī. He compiled a book entitled *The Nourishment of Hearts* in Sufi language, wherein he talked of objectionable and dishonourable (*munkara wa mustashna'*) matters concerning the attributes [of God]. He learned *ḥadīth* from 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Maṣīṣī, Abū Bakr al-Mufīd and others. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar al-Khayyāṭ and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī al-Azjī told me about him. Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Allāf related to me that Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī was one of the people of Jabal, brought up in Mecca, entered Basra after the death of Abu'l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim and became associated with his doctrine. He came to Baghdad and people gathered together [to hear] him preach, but then he became confused in his words. It was recorded of him that he said: Nothing is more harmful to the created beings than the Creator. People accused him of innovation and left him. Al-Makkī stopped preaching in Jumādā II 386.³ Al-'Atīqī said that he was a virtuous man and diligent in worship. He produced literary works on *tawḥīd*.

It may be deduced from the explanation of the *Qūt* and the report of al-Makkī's 'confused' statement, that he is probably not in favour with al-Khaṭīb.⁴ It should be mentioned here that there seems to have been open hostility between al-Khaṭīb and the Ḥanbalīs,⁵ while al-Makkī shows great respect for Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) and quotes him approximately a hundred times in the *Qūt*.⁶

¹ *Wafayāt* 1.92-3.

² *Ta'rīkh* 3.89.

³ June/July 996 AD.

⁴ Concerning style, the description of al-Makkī does not have a stark difference from other biographical accounts in the *Ta'rīkh*: al-Khaṭīb starts with al-Makkī's genealogy, mentions his relation with his *ḥadīth* teachers and describes his life. The length of this account can also be said to be fairly average in comparison with other figures.

⁵ Despite originally being Ḥanbalī, al-Khaṭīb became associated himself with the Shāfi'ī school, which seems to have aroused the hatred of the Ḥanbalīs. Cf. *EF*², s.v. 'al-Khaṭīb' (R. Sellheim).

⁶ *Nahrung*, 4.71-2 [index].

This might have attracted to al-Makkī the disfavour of al-Khaṭīb. Nonetheless, al-Khaṭīb selected al-Makkī in his *ḥadīth* reference work. This might suggest al-Makkī's deep commitment to *ḥadīth*, which has to be acknowledged in the *Ta'rīkh* even though the author does not appear to approve al-Makkī's writing.

ii. *Al-Muntaẓam* by Ibn al-Jawzī

Another important account of al-Makkī can be seen in the *Muntaẓam*, written by the famous Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Jawzī. This history book contains obituaries at the end of each year, which offer a useful source of biographical information. At the end of the year 386/996, Ibn al-Jawzī lists six grandees (*akābir*) who died in this year, including al-Makkī, whose account is the longest among them:¹

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyya Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī learned *ḥadīth* from 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Maṣṣīṣī, Abū Bakr al-Mufīd and others. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī al-Ajzī and others reported on his authority. He was among the pious ascetics, and al-'Atīqī said: He was a virtuous and diligent man, and composed a book [which] he entitled *The Nourishment of Hearts*. In it he quoted *ḥadīth* [which] have no origin. He used to preach the people in the Friday mosque in Baghdad.

'Alī b. 'Abīd Allāh related to us from Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī [who] said: 'Abd al-Ṣamad came to see Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and blamed him for heterodox *samā'* practice. Abū Ṭālib then recited:

O Night, how delightful you are!

O Morning, if only you did not approach!

'Abd al-Ṣamad left in anger.

...² I heard our Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Samarqandī saying: I heard our Shaykh Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b.

¹ *Muntaẓam*, 7.189-90.

² Ibn al-Jawzī here copies the statement of al-'Allāf in the *Ta'rīkh* until al-Makkī stopped preaching.

Aḥmad b. al-Maslama saying: (I heard our Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim b. Bishrān saying:) I came to see our Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī at the time of his death and told him: Please give me [your final words of] advice. He said: If you find out that He has made my end to be good, when my bier is taken out,¹ scatter sugar and almonds over me, and say 'This is for the master'. I said: How do I find out [whether God has given you a good end]? He said: Take my hand at the time of my death, and if I grip your hand with my hand, then know that He has made my end to be good, whereas if I do not grip your hand and release your hand from my hand, then know that He did not make my end to be good. Our Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim said: I sat beside him, and, at the moment of his death, he gripped my hand strongly. When I took out his body,² I scattered sugar and almonds over him, and said 'This is for the master' as he instructed me. Abū Ṭālib died in Jumādā II of this year.

This account includes valuable anecdotes about al-Makkī. His response to the reproach for the *samā'* practice and his death-bed story could be said to accord with the typical image of Sufi masters.³ The reader therefore may assume that he was a Sufi Shaykh, although Ibn al-Jawzī does not use the term 'Sufi' in the description of al-Makkī. From the first paragraph of this narrative, however, the *Qūt* could be considered as a book of *ḥadīth*, or at least Ibn al-Jawzī gives the impression that this is a Tradition-based work. In the *Qūt*, al-Makkī quotes Ibn Ḥanbal and agrees with his approach to *ḥadīth* that the contents of the report are more important than having accurate phrasing or accurate information of its chain of authorities.⁴ Although being Ḥanbalī himself, al-Makkī's attitude towards Tradition does not seem

¹ Or: when you take out my body [for the funeral procession].

² Or: when his bier was taken out.

³ Ibn Kathīr reports a very similar account concerning the *samā'* practice and the death-bed (*Bidāya*, 11.341). Al-Dhahabī also tells an almost same story about al-Makkī's death (*Ta'rīkh al-Islām* 381-400, 127-8).

⁴ *Qūt* 1.486-8.

to match that of Ibn al-Jawzī, whose criticism against al-Makkī's use of weak *ḥadīth* appears in his other work.¹

iii. *Wafayāt al-a'yān* by Ibn Khallikān

Another key source of al-Makkī's life can be found in the famous *Wafayāt*, compiled by the chief judge of Syria, Ibn Khallikān. This Shāfi'ī scholar collects reports of numerous Muslims for this voluminous biographical dictionary. The *Wafayāt* is one of the earliest comprehensive *ṭabaqāt* works, which is not composed by subject or place. According to Ibn Khallikān, those figures are chosen because of their fame,² while De Slane, who translates the whole *Wafayāt*, points out the author's inclination towards people in jurisprudence in his selection.³ In a narrative of al-Makkī, Ibn Khallikān relates:⁴

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyya, al-Ḥārithī al-Wā'iz al-Makkī is the author of the book, *The Nourishment of Hearts*. He was a pious man and diligent in worship. He used to speak in the Friday mosque and he has literary works on *tawḥīd*. He was not one of the people of Mecca. He was one of the people of Jabal but lived in Mecca, and he was called [al-Makkī] after it. He used to perform devotional practices⁵ to a large extent. In the end, it was said that he abandoned food for a while and restricted himself to eating permitted herbs; then his skin became green from taking a large portion of them.

He met a group of masters of the *ḥadīth* and knowledge of the

¹ *Talbīs*, 164-5. In his other writing, however, Ibn al-Jawzī uses the Tradition transmitted by al-Makkī (*Talqīh*, 714-7).

² *Wafayāt*, 1.20.

³ De Slane, 1.iv-v.

⁴ *Wafayāt*, 4.303-4.

⁵ رياضة : bodily exercise, practice of good works and prayer (Hava, 278); exercice continuel, efforts continuel que l'on fait pour se maîtriser, pour dompter ses passions, mortifications, vie ascétique, pratiques de dévotion (Kazimirski, 1.952).

Way,¹ and he learned from them. He entered Basra after the death of Abu'l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim and became associated with his doctrine. He arrived in Baghdad and preached to the people. Then he talked so confusedly that they left and renounced him. ...² He died after six days of Jumādā II had passed of the year 386³ in Baghdad and was buried in the Mālikiyya cemetery. His grave is on the eastern side⁴ and a famous place to be visited. May God Most High have mercy upon him.

Al-Ḥārithī: beginning with unpointed *ḥā'* then *alif*, *rā'* with *kasra* and *thā'* with three diacritical dots. This *nisba* refers to a number of tribes; one of them is al-Ḥārith and the other is al-Ḥāritha. I do not know from which of these tribes the above-mentioned Abū Ṭālib received his *nisba*.

Al-Makkī: *nisba* related to Mecca, may God Most High protect her.⁵

In this narrative, Ibn Khallikān adds a piece of significant information about al-Makkī's ascetic practices.⁶ Unlike the previous accounts in the *Ta'rīkh* and *al-Muntaẓam*, the *Wafayāt* does not list the names of people who taught *ḥadīth* to al-Makkī and related a story about him. It should be mentioned that although Ibn Khallikān cites from a report in Ibn al-Qaysarānī's *Ansāb* regarding al-Makkī's problematic saying, he does not include al-Khaṭīb's disapproving comments on the *Qūt*, which can be seen in the *Ansāb*. He gives a more detailed description about the death date of al-Makkī, his *nisba* and his grave. Apart from al-Makkī's statement about the Creator, on which none of those compilers makes any comment, Ibn

¹ علم الطريقة : 'Sufism' (De Slane, 3.20).

² Ibn Khallikān here quotes from an account of al-Makkī in *al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa*. This is about al-Makkī's apparent problematic saying, which Ibn al-Qaysarānī cites from the *Ta'rīkh*.

³ 27th June, 996 AD.

⁴ According to De Slane, it is the eastern side of the Tigris (3.21). See Introduction: The Life of al-Makkī, and Appendix II.

⁵ De Slane summarises the last two paragraphs into two sentences (*ibid.*).

⁶ This is somewhat similar to a description in a letter of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz: 'the skin of [Moses'] belly shewed as green as grass because of it all' (cited in *Sufism (A)*, 34).

Khallikān's report seems to be generally approving from the way of his describing al-Makkī.

iv. *Nafaḥāt al-uns* by Jāmī

Lastly, this section provides a translation of a report of al-Makkī from the *Nafaḥāt*, written by the Persian poet Jāmī. This work seems to be the first Sufī hagiography which includes al-Makkī:¹

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyya al-Ḥārithī al-Makkī – may God Most High have mercy upon him – is the author of the book *The Nourishment of Hearts*, which is a collection of secrets of the Way.

They said [that] in Islam nothing equivalent to [this book] was composed concerning the details of the Way. He was brought up in Mecca, the noblest place on the face of the earth. He then entered Basra and went to Baghdad. He died there in Jumādā II of the year 386.

His relation in Sufism is with the knowledgeable Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī. The relationship of Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan is with his father, Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Sālim and the relationship of his father is with Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh Tustarī – may God Most High sanctify their souls –.

In this account, Jāmī praises the *Qūt* and mentions al-Makkī's intellectual relation with al-Sālimiyya and Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896). Sahl al-Tustarī is one of the most quoted figures in the *Qūt*,² and al-Makkī's writing is considered to be a valuable source of the teachings of al-Tustarī.³ From Jāmī's narrative, it is not clear whether

¹ Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 121.

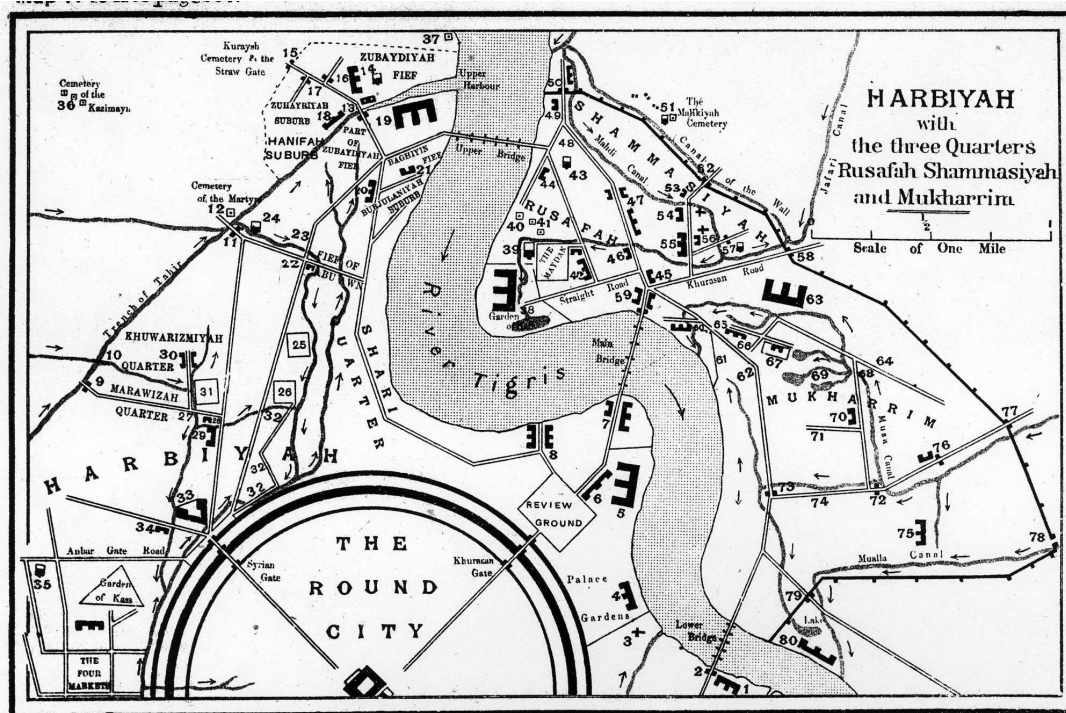
² *Nahrung*, 4.207-9 [index]. Böwering mentions in his careful work on al-Tustarī that numerous sayings in the *Qūt*, which are cited anonymously (eg. 'some of the learned said (قال بعض العلماء)'), might refer to al-Tustarī (*Vision*, 26-7).

³ Böwering states that the *Qūt* and the *Ilm* contain a great amount of al-Tustarī's teaching, which al-Makkī obtained directly from his followers (*ibid.*, 19).

Jāmī has read the *Qūt* himself. The *Nafahāt* was composed based on various early Sufi biographies, especially *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* ('Sufi Biographical Dictionaries') of al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 481/1089) and *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* ('The Memorial of the Saints') by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. ca. 620/1223).¹ It should be mentioned that neither of these two works includes al-Makkī. This may indicate that al-Makkī has achieved a prominence among Persian writers on Sufism at least by the time of Jāmī, namely, the ninth/fifteenth century.

¹ Cf. *EF*², s.v. 'Djāmī' (Cl. Huart); *Mysticism*, 138, 163.

APPENDIX II: MAPS OF AL-RUṢĀFA

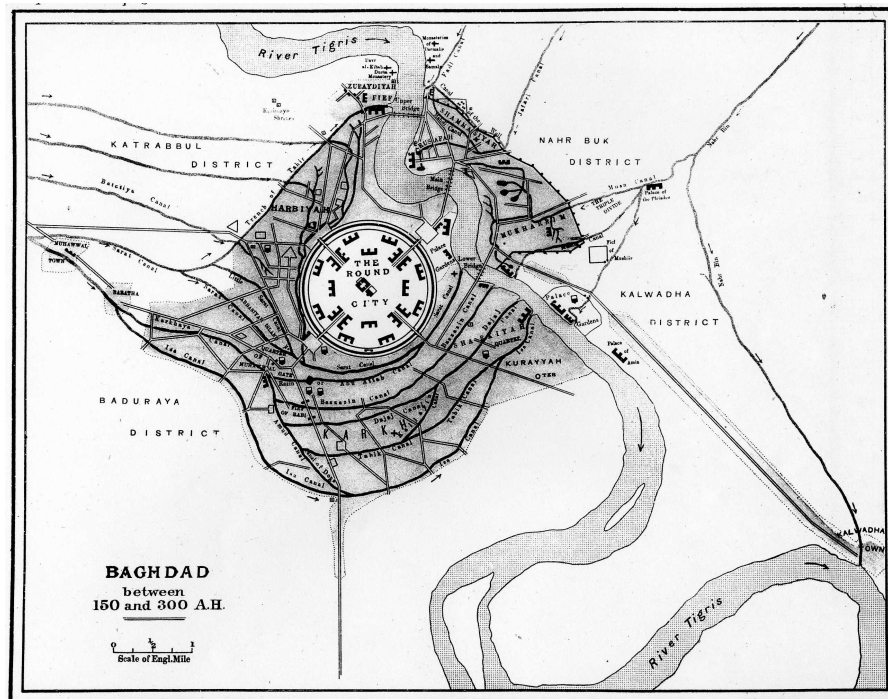
Ḥarbiyya with the three quarters Ruṣāfa, Shammāsiyya and Mukharrim¹

REFERENCES TO MAP No. V.

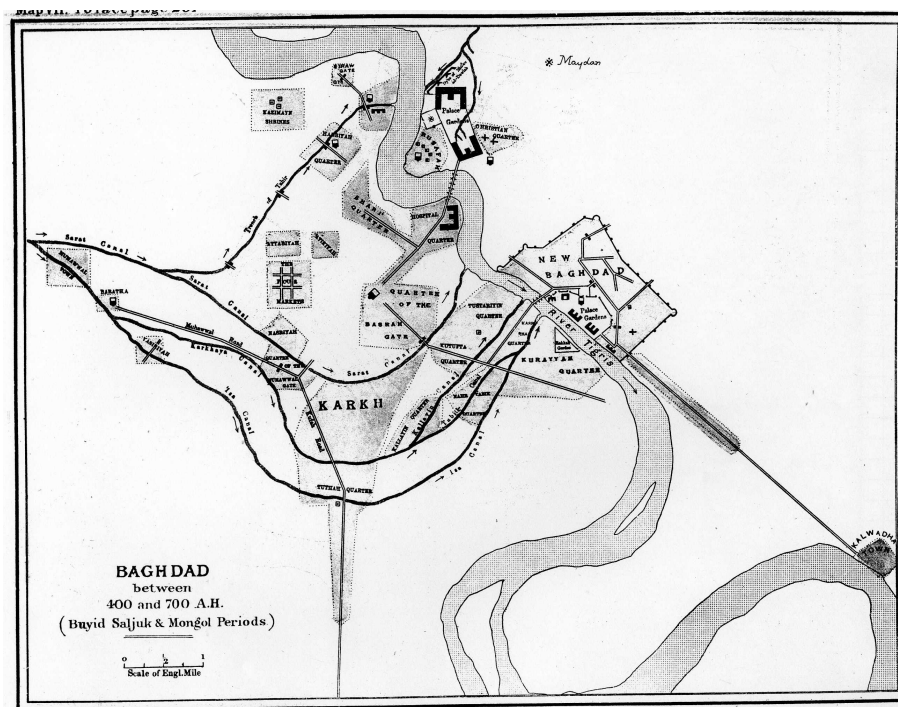
1. The Palace of Humayd ibn 'Abd-al-Ḥamid.
2. The Barley Gate (Bāb-ash-Sha'ir).
3. The Old Convent at the Sarāt Point.
4. Palace of Zubaydah, called the Karār.
5. The Khuld Palace (site afterwards occupied by the 'Aḥḍī Hospital).
6. The Royal Stables.
7. Office of the Bridge Works and Hall of the Chief of Police.
8. Palaces of the Princes Sulaymān and Sālīh, sons of Manṣūr, on the Street called Darb Sulaymān.
9. The Iron Gate and Bridge, leading to the Dujayl Road.
10. The Water-conduit called 'Abbārat-al-Kūkh.
11. The Harb Gate and Bridge, leading to the Harb Gate Road.
12. Tomb of Ibn Ḥanbal the Imām.
13. Kaṭrabul Gate and Bridge of the Mill of Umm Ja'far.
14. Palace and Mosque of Zubaydah (Umm Ja'far).
15. The Straw Gate (Bāb-at-Tibn).
16. Gate of the Fief.
17. Bāb-aṣ-Ṣagħīr (the Little Gate).
18. Palace of 'Umārah.
19. Palace of the Tāhirid Ḥarīm.
20. The Slaves' House (Dār-ar-Rakīk) and Fief of the Ghulāms (Pages).
21. Palace of Ḥafṣ ibn 'Othmān in Darb Siwār (Street of the Bracelet).
22. Palace of Ibn Abi 'Awn.
23. The Bridge of the Straw-merchants (Kaṭṭarāh-at-Tabbānīn).
24. The Harbiyyah Mosque.
25. Quadrangle of Abu-l-'Abbās.
26. Quadrangle of Shabbī.
27. The Abu-l-Jawn Bridge.
28. The Palace of Sa'īd-al-Khaṭīb.
29. The Orphan School.
30. Dukkān-al-Abna (the Persian Shops).
31. Quadrangle of the Persians, with Suburbs of Rushayd, of Zuhayr, and of 'Othmān ibn Nuḥayk.
32. The Three Arcades of 'Akki, Ghīṭrīf, and Abu Suwayd.
33. The Prison of the Syrian Gate.
34. Road and Palace of Hānī.
35. The Bukhariot Mosque.
36. The Kāzīmāyīn Shrines; Tombs of Zulaydah, the Caliph Amīn, and the Buyid Princes.
37. Tomb of 'Abd-Allah, son of Ibn Ḥanbal.
38. Palace of Mahdī in Ruṣāfah.
39. The Ruṣāfah Mosque.
40. Shrine of Abu Ḥanīfah in the Khayzrān Cemetery.
41. The Tombs of the Caliphs.
42. Palaces of Umm Ḥabīb and of Faḍl on the Road of the Maydān.
43. The Khudayrīyah Quarter and Mosque; the Khudayr Market.
44. Palace of Waḍḍāh on Road of Skiffs.
45. Market of Yahyā and Road of the Bridge.
46. Palace of Faraj.
47. Palaces of Dūr; Palace of Ja'far the Barmecide.
48. Market of Ja'far and Road of the Mahdī Canal.
49. Market of Khālid and Kaṣr-aṭ-Ṭīn (the Clay Castle).
50. The Shammāsiyyah Gate and the Palace of Mūnis.
51. Three Gates Suburb, the Place of Vows, and the Chapel of the Festival.
52. The Baradān Gate.
53. The Baradān Bridge and the Palace of Abu-Naṣr.
54. The Huṭam Palace.
55. The Barmecide Fief and Palaces.
56. Dār-ar-Rīm (House of the Greeks), the Nestorian and Jacobite Churches of the Christian Quarter, with the House of the Patriarch.
57. Market of Naṣr; the Mosque and the Iron Gates.
58. The Khurāsān Gate of East Baghdad.
59. The Bāb-at-Ṭāk (Gate of the Archway), Palaces of Khuzaymah, of Prince 'Ubayd-Allah, and of Princess Asmā.
60. The Street of 'Amr the Greek.
61. The Garden of Zāhir at the mouth of the Mūsā Canal, and Palace of Ibn Muḥlah.
62. The Great Road.
63. The Palace of Muṭaṣīm.
64. The Long Street.
65. The Palace of Ibn-al-Furāt and the Street of the Vine Tendril.
66. The Thirst Market (Sūk-al-'Atsh).
67. Palace, Quadrangle, and Market of Ḥarashī.
68. The Anṣār Bridge.
69. The Three Tanks of the Anṣār, of Haylānah, and of Dāūd.
70. Palace of Ibn-al-Khaṭīb in the Road of Sa'd Waṣīf.
71. Market of Hajjāj.
72. The Great Pitched Gate.
73. The Mukharrim Gate and the Bridge of 'Abbās.
74. The Hay Market and the Booths.
75. The Palace of Banījah.
76. The 'Ammār Gate and the Palace of 'Umārah.
77. The Gate of the Horse Market.
78. The Abraz Gate.
79. The Gate of the Tuesday Market.
80. The Firdūs Palace and Lake.

¹ Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Map V, to face p. 107.

Baghdad between 150/767 and 300/912-3¹



Baghdad between 400/1009-10 and 700/1300-1²



¹ *Ibid.*, Map III, to face p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, Map VII, to face p. 231.

APPENDIX III: WORKS OF AL-MAKKĪ

Al-Makkī does not appear to have been a prolific writer by the standard of his age.

There are at least eight works which have been attributed to him:¹

- *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu‘āmalat al-maḥbūb wa waṣf tarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd* ('The Nourishment of Hearts in Relation to the Beloved and the Description of the Path of the Novice to the Station of *tawḥīd*');
- *‘Ilm al-qulūb* ('The Knowledge of Hearts');
- *Kitāb manāsik al-ḥajj* ('The Book on Rituals during the Pilgrimage');
- *al-Bayān al-shāfi* ('The Healing Explanation');
- *tafsīr* (interpretation) of the Qur’ān;
- *Nuzul al-abrār* ('The Food² of Holy People');
- a collection of 40 *ḥadīth*;
- works on *tawḥīd*.

It can be said that al-Makkī's fame lies solely in the *Qūt*. It is this book which appears in the major *ṭabaqāt* works and the writings of later Islamic thinkers.

The *Qūt* has been extracted and commented on, and often read, especially among Sufis.³ This work is a detailed exposition of morals and ethics in Islam, and extensive guidance on religious duties and various forms of pious actions in this world. The emphasis is placed on God-fearing ways of thinking, which ought to be the basis of external conduct, and the importance of the internal aspects of religion (i.e. pious activities in the heart), not only bodily outward actions. As the title

¹ Shukri enumerates the first six works, which seems to be the longest list of al-Makkī's work so far (39, 46, 49-50). The *ḥadīth* collection is mentioned in al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* (381-400, 128) and al-Raḍwānī's introduction to the 2001 edition of the *Qūt* (1.13). The information of al-Makkī's works on *tawḥīd* appears in al-Khaṭīb's *Ta'rīkh* (3.89), as seen above.

² According to Lane, *nuzul* means food prepared for the guest (Lane, 2.3031).

³ Brockelmann lists several manuscripts of an extract of the *Qūt* by Ḥusayn b. Ma'an (d. 870/1466) (GAL, 1.217). Sezgin adds to this an extract of Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Andalusī (d. 485/1092), entitled *al-Wuṣūl ila'l-ghard al-maṭlūb min jawāhir Qūt al-qulūb*, and another one by Darwīsh 'Abd al-Karīm (10th C/15-6th Cs) (GAS, 1.667). The *Qūt* has been commented by al-Rundī, and a commentary of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī is published by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-'Ajamī under the title of *al-Waḍ' al-maṭlūb min Qūt al-qulūb*.

suggests, the *Qūt* is written for novices and arranged accordingly.¹

With regard to the second book, *ʿIlm al-qulūb*, this work discusses spiritual aspects of belief, namely wisdom (*ḥikma*), knowledge (*ʿilm*) and gnosis (*maʿrifa*). It also stresses the importance of having right intention (*niyya*) and provides detailed examples on this matter. As can be seen in the *Qūt*, the *ʿIlm* covers both internal and external aspects of religion, and discusses several essential concepts of the Qurʾān, such as *tawḥīd* and purification of faith (*ikhhlāṣ*), but its coverage is not as extensive as the *Qūt*.

The treatment of the *ʿIlm* varies according to scholars. Brockelmann and Sezgin enumerate the manuscripts of both the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* under the name of al-Makkī² and some scholars follow their view,³ while others argue that the *ʿIlm* is not a work of al-Makkī.⁴ Some scholars mention only the *Qūt* as al-Makkī's work and do not refer to the *ʿIlm* at all.⁵ (This is probably because the *ʿIlm* is not as well known a work as the *Qūt* is, and also a modern edition of the *ʿIlm* was not available until 1964.)⁶ The *ʿIlm* has not been explored extensively and its authenticity has been sometimes questioned due to a paucity of information about the work in the

¹ For the contents of the *Qūt*, see Ch. 3.2.

² *GAL*, 1.217, SI.359-60; *GAS*, 1.666-7.

³ Eg. *Mysticism*, 122; *Vision*, 27.

⁴ Eg. *Sufism (K)*, 87-8; Pūrjavādī.

⁵ Eg. *Lumaʿ*, ii [introduction by Nicholson]; *Dimensions*, 85 *et passim*.

⁶ The first modern edition of the *Qūt* was published in 1310/1892-3. It should be also mentioned that only two manuscripts of the *ʿIlm* have been found so far, while around forty manuscripts are available for the *Qūt*.

major *ṭabaqāt*, coupled with its different style from that of the *Qūt*.¹

With regard to the third work, the *Manāsik*, this book is mentioned in an account of the *hajj* in the *Qūt*, where al-Makkī states that he has already spoken in great detail about the principles (*aḥkāṃ*) of the pilgrimage and its ritual sites (*mashāʿir*) in the *Manāsik*.² Shukri, Amin, Gramlich and al-Raḍwānī briefly mention that this work appears to have been lost,³ and neither Brockelmann nor Sezgin lists it. The *Manāsik* does not seem to have been mentioned in later writings and it appears to be impossible to expand more about this work.

As for the fourth book, *al-Bayān al-shāfi*, Brockelmann originally described it as a lost work of al-Makkī, claimed that al-Rundī made a commentary on the difficult parts of this book and the *Qūt*, and Brockelmann listed a certain Escorial manuscript as this commentary work of al-Rundī.⁴ Later on, however, Brockelmann removed this manuscript from al-Makkī's section and categorised it under the name of al-Rundī as one of his letters about the *Qūt*.⁵ Here, Brockelmann does not refer to *al-Bayān* at all. Sezgin, on the other hand, explains the same manuscript as an anonymous commentary⁶ under the section of al-Makkī and does not mention al-Rundī or *al-Bayān*.⁷ Shukri¹ and al-Kayyālī, an editor of the *Qūt*,² accept

¹ For the contents of the *ʿIlm* and an analysis of its authenticity, see Ch. 5.

² *Qūt*, 3.1249.

³ Shukri, 49; Amin, 34-5; *Nahrung*, 1.20; *Qūt*, 1.13.

⁴ *GAL*, 1.217.

⁵ *GAL*, SII.358.

⁶ On the *Qūt* presumably, since it appears at the end of the list of manuscripts of the *Qūt* and its extracts (*GAS*, 1.667).

⁷ The Escorial manuscript at issue (Ms. árabe 740) contains 16 sections (lit. books, sing. *kitāb*)

Brockelmann's original statement that *al-Bayān* is a lost work of al-Makkī, and so does Amin, who supports his argument with a passage from al-Rundī's letter.³

Using the same letter, however, Gramlich claims that this work is erroneously produced by Derenbourg⁴ who misread al-Rundī's letter and believed that al-Rundī was asked to clarify questions arising from al-Makkī's book, *al-Bayān al-shāfi*. Gramlich interprets the same text differently and concludes that this work does not exist.⁵ Renard, who translated al-Rundī's letters into English, took these mysterious words, *al-bayān al-shāfi*, as the description of the *Qūt*, i.e. praising it as the healing explanation.⁶ This interpretation seems to make the most sense, considering the grammar, the contents of the letter and the fact that al-Rundī values the *Qūt* so much that he would describe it as healing.⁷ No *ṭabaqāt* literature seems to mention this alleged work, and until further evidence appears, it would not be so absurd to conclude now that *al-Bayān al-shāfi* does not exist.

and the title of the first section indicates that this includes answers to some questions about a chapter on fear in the *Qūt* (presumably, a section on the station of fear; *Qūt*, 2.616-79) and useful matters for the novice (fol. 183v). Nwyia explains that this manuscript consists of letters of al-Rundī and edits it in his collection of al-Rundī's letters, which was published as *al-Rasā'il al-ṣuḡrā* in 1974. For the detailed discussion of this manuscript, see this book, 12-13.

¹ Shukri, 49.

² *Qūt* (1997) [1st ed], 1.4; *Qūt* (2005) [2nd ed], 1.4.

³ Amin, 34, 52 n. 126.

⁴ H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l-Escorial*, tome 2, fascicule I, Paris, 1903, 1, 30, Nr. 740,2 (cited in *Nahrung*, 1.20).

⁵ The original text is: *انتتم تطلبون فيه بيان المسألة الواقعة في كتاب أبي طالب البيان الشافي* (*Rasā'il*, 19). Gramlich takes the last two words as accusative, namely apposition to *بيان المسألة الواقعة*, and reads it as 'eine klärende Erörterung' (a clarifying discussion); while he states that Derenbourg must have taken them as genitive, namely apposition to *كتاب أبي طالب* (*Nahrung*, 1.20).

⁶ Renard translates the whole sentence as 'you sought a clarification of a question posed for you by the book of Abū Ṭālib, that healing treatise' (al-Rundī, *Ronda*, 59), i.e. Renard takes *البيان الشافي* as apposition to *كتاب أبي طالب* as Derenbourg does but with the latter meaning the *Qūt*, not another book of al-Makkī.

⁷ Although different wording, al-Rundī states that the *Qūt* removes 'maladies ('*ilal*)' and 'heals illness (*yubri' maraḍ*)' (*Rasā'il*, 41; cf. 78). Regarding al-Rundī and al-Makkī, see Ch. 6.2.

With regard to the fifth work of al-Makkī, the *tafsīr*, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659) apparently mentions al-Makkī's thorough knowledge of the Qur'ān and his voluminous work on *tafsīr*.¹ According to a footnote of the 1932 edition of the *Qūt*, al-Khafājī introduces al-Makkī in the *Sharḥ* as a Sufi Shaykh with a thorough familiarity with *sunna*, the Qur'ān and other branches of knowledge, and he states that he left a 'voluminous *tafsīr*', and that his work, the *Qūt*, is a 'momentous book'.² Since the editor of the 1932 edition of the *Qūt*, whose name is unknown, does not specify the precise volume and page numbers of the *Sharḥ*, it is hard to trace this statement, when its available copy does not contain an index. It is especially unfortunate because this seems to be the only work which mentions al-Makkī's alleged *tafsīr*.

Apart from this, Shukri and Amin, who discuss it on the basis of this footnote,³ no other scholars or *ṭabaqāt* compilers seem to have mentioned al-Makkī's possible writing of a Qur'anic interpretation. As a supporting argument for the existence of this work, Amin refers to the famous *ḥadīth* scholar and Qur'anic exegete, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who uses al-Makkī's argument on *ijtihād* in his work.⁴ Amin does not state, however, whether al-Suyūṭī mentions

¹ Al-Khafājī, *Nasīm al-riyāḍ fī sharḥ shifā' al-Qāḍī 'Iyād*, 4 vols. This book is a commentary on the biography of the Prophet, *al-Shifā'*, written by the renowned Mālikī *faqīh* in Islamic Spain, 'Iyād b. Mūsā al-Qāḍī (d. 544/1149) (*ET*², s.v. 'al-Khafādhī' (F. Krenkow) and 'Iyād b. Mūsā' (M. Talbi)).

² *Qūt* (1932), 1.3 n. 1.

³ Shukri, 49-50; Amin, 35.

⁴ Al-Suyūṭī, *Taqrīr al-istinād fī tafsīr al-ijtihād*, introduction and annotation by Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mun'im Aḥmad (Alexandria, 1983), 36-7 (cited in Amin, 52 n. 128).

al-Makkī's alleged work on *tafsīr*, and it cannot be assumed from this argument that this writing exists.¹ Neither Gramlich nor any other editors of the *Qūt* mention this alleged work and it remains unclear at this point that whether al-Makkī compiled this voluminous book. Even if it did exist, it appears to have been lost to us.

With regard to the sixth possible work of al-Makkī, *Nuzul al-abrār*, Shukri affirms that this book is erroneously attributed to al-Makkī, probably by a Shī'ite author.² According to Storey, Mīr 'Alī b. Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad 'Alī Riḍawī Dihlawī made a translation of this alleged work of al-Makkī in 1252/1836-7, entitled *Mā'idat-i pur-thimār tarjamat-i Nuzul al-abrār* ('The Table Full of Fruits: A Translation of *The Food of Holy People*'). This book includes biographical accounts of the Prophet and the Shī'ite Imāms with an additional chapter on the twelve Imāms by the translator.³ Shukri does not explain the reason for his refutation of Storey's statement; however, given the fact that al-Makkī does not specifically refer to Shī'ite Imāms in the *Qūt* or the *'Ilm*,⁴ it seems unlikely that he compiled a book on Shī'ite

¹ Amin explains that al-Khafājī is one of the 'first historians to mention al-Makkī', as he believes that al-Khafājī died in 451/1059, and claims that the *Sharḥ* is no longer extant (Amin, 21); however, this is a wrong statement. Shukri states al-Khafājī's death year as 1059 (without mentioning whether it is hijrī or not; Shukri, 49 n. 4) and probably Amin calculated the hijrī year from this. Both Brockelmann and Krenkow state the death year as 1069/1659 (*GAL*, 2.368, SII.396; *EF*, s.v.). Amin refers to the *GAL* (2.389), but the 'Khafājī' on this page does not correspond to Amin's description, and this is possibly a mistake (Amin, 49 n. 80). It is not clear what made Amin claim that the *Sharḥ* has not survived until today. He repeated the same statement in his article, which was published eight years after his PhD thesis ('al-Makkī', 75).

² Shukri, 50. (Although Shukri repeatedly refers to this alleged work as *Nuzul al-Abrār* rather than *Nuzul*, the original text, which he cites (see below), says *Nuzul*.)

³ Storey, *Persian Literature* 1, pt. 2, 1258.

⁴ In the *Qūt*, the first six Shī'ite Imāms appear (I. 'Alī: 159 times; II. al-Ḥasan: 18; III. al-Ḥusayn: 5; IV. 'Alī: 6; V. Muḥammad: 7; VI. Ja'far: 14) and none after Ja'far al-Ṣādiq among the Twelver Imāms. In the line of Zaydīs, Zayd b. Alī is mentioned three times, while none from the Ismā'īlīs are cited. Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad is cited five times (cf. *Nahrung*, 4 [index]). On a

Imāms. Apart from Storey and Shukri, nobody (including *ṭabaqāt* compilers) appears to discuss this alleged work of al-Makkī.

With regard to the seventh possible writing, a collection of *ḥadīth*, a famous historian, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352-3), states in an account of al-Makkī in *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* as follows:¹

I have seen [a collection of] forty *ḥadīth* by Abū Ṭālib in his hand writing. He selected them according to their *isnāds*. He transmitted them on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far b. Fāris and reported at the beginning of them, <One who memorises forty *ḥadīth* in my community>, in five ways. He finished [the collection] with [the *ḥadīth* of] Abū Zayd al-Marwazī from al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* – may God have mercy upon him –, <The utmost degree of praise to Him is to be through praise to Him>.

Al-Raḍwānī, the editor of the 2001 edition of the *Qūt*, mentions a collection of forty *ḥadīth* in his list of al-Makkī’s work, with reference to al-Dhahabī.² Although al-Raḍwānī does not provide any bibliographical information here, the above-translated report appears to be the only narrative where al-Dhahabī mentions al-Makkī’s *ḥadīth* collection, and it is probable that this is the source of al-Raḍwānī’s statement. Apart from al-Dhahabī, however, no other biographical compilers seem to mention this alleged collection. Apart from al-Raḍwānī’s introduction to the *Qūt*, the *ḥadīth* collection does not seem to have been discussed, and no evidence indicates

smaller scale, but a similar tendency can be also seen in the *‘Ilm*: four Imāms from the first six appear (I. ‘Alī: 22; II. al-Ḥasan: 3; IV. ‘Alī (Zayn al-‘Ābidīn): 2; VI. Ja‘far: 12) and Fāṭima once (cf. *‘Ilm* (1964), 295-303 [index]).

¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* 381-400, 128. Al-Makkī appears in al-Dhahabī’s other works; however, no discussion about *ḥadīth* can be seen there (*Ibar*, 3.33-4; *Mīzān*, 3.655). Al-Dhahabī adhered to the Shāfi‘ī school (*ET*², s.v. (M. Bencheneb)).

² *Qūt*, 1.13.

that this compilation has survived until today.

The last possible writing of al-Makkī is on *tawḥīd*. According to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Makkī compiled books on *tawḥīd*.¹ Shukri and Amin claim that one of these works should designate the *ʿIlm*, since *tawḥīd* is an important topic of this book, and they use this statement as a supporting argument for al-Makkī's authorship of the *ʿIlm*.² On the other hand, Gramlich briefly states that those works on *tawḥīd* have probably been lost.³ In the *ʿIlm*, although there is a chapter on *tawḥīd*,⁴ the main themes of this book are knowledge, as can be seen in the title, gnosis, wisdom and intention. Consequently, it does not seem to be entirely convincing to categorise the *ʿIlm* as a book on *tawḥīd*. All the other above-mentioned possible works of al-Makkī do not appear to discuss *tawḥīd* in an extensive way, and, as there is no other material to examine on this matter, we have to wait for the appearance of further evidence to expand it.

On the whole, among the eight writings attributed to al-Makkī, a book on *ḥajj*, the *tafsīr*, the *ḥadīth* collection and some works on *tawḥīd* seem to have been lost to us. It is unlikely that *al-Bayān* existed; and the *Nuzul* does not appear to be a work of al-Makkī. This makes the *Qūt* and the *ʿIlm* (regardless its authenticity) the only books which can be the subject of the study of al-Makkī today. Apart from a

¹ *Taʾrīkh*, 3.89. This statement is repeated in later literature; eg. *Wafayāt*, 4.303.

² Shukri, 47-8; Amin, 179.

³ *Nahrung*, 1.19.

⁴ Ch. 4 (*ʿIlm*, 84-112).

Shī'ite compilation, the *Nuzul*, the topics which have been associated with al-Makkī are religious matters (especially *tawhīd*) and rituals. The list of his works also shows his (possible) great knowledge of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. This would help understand the directions in which his intellectual curiosity took him, or at least indicate the kind of image which has been projected on him by later authors.

APPENDIX IV: LIST OF THE RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES AND THE QUR'ANIC VERSES IN THE EXTRACT FROM SECTION 30 OF THE *QŪT*

i. Religious authorities

Abu'l-Dardā' (d. ca. 32/652):	[68] (1 / 76) ¹
Abū Hurayra (d. 598/678-9):	[12] (1 / 89)
Abū Kabshat al-Anmārī:	[14] (1 / 3)
Abū Muḥammad Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896):	[51] [59] [115] (3 / 201)
Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693):	[14] (1 / 29)
Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 101/719-20):	[12] (1 / 8)
Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874 or 264/877-8):	[105] (1 / 26)
(al-) 'Alā' b. Ziyād (d. 94/712-3):	[11] (1 / 3)
'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661):	[55] [64] [65] [99] (4 / 192)
(al-)Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728):	[8] [91] (2 / 203)
Ḥudhayfa b. Ḥusayl al-Yamān (d. 36/657):	[14] [78] (2 / 39)
Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687):	[52] [64] [107] [111] (4 / 168)
Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32/653):	[7] [97] (2 / 138)
Ibn 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 73/693):	[60] (1 / 113)
'Ikrima b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 105/723-4):	[10] (1 / 15)
Ja'far b. Burqān (d. ca. 165/782):	[13] (1 / 3)
Jarīr b. 'Abdat al-'Adwī:	[11] (1 / 1)
Maymūn b. Mahrān (d. 118/735-6):	[13] (1 / 7)
Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī (d. 104/722):	[9] (1 / 47)
Ubayy b. Ka'b (d. between 19/640 and 35/656):	[58] (1 / 18)
'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644):	[72] [107] (2 / 173)
'Uthmān b. Abī'l-Āṣ (d. 51/671):	[4] (1 / 4)
Zayd b. Aslam (d. ca. 130/747):	[59] (1 / 10)

¹ The first number indicates the number of time(s) the name appears in this translation and the second number indicates the number of times in the whole *Qūt*, according to the index of the *Nahrung*.

ii. Qur'anic citations

2:63	[17]	20:50	[27]
2:118	[67] [109]	21:23	[119]
2:187	[17]	21:79	[64]
2:268	[1]	22:4	[27]
2:269	[64]	22:46	[37]
2:282	[34]	22:52	[107]
3:59	[128]	23:88	[120]
3:138	[109]	24:35	[58]
3:139	[52]	24:40	[58]
3:193	[35]	26:89	[62]
4:34	[81]	29:49	[109]
4:119	[3]	29:69	[75] [86] [89]
4:122	[15] [73]	35:6	[1]
5:30	[1]	36:37	[54]
5:44	[110]	41:12	[54]
5:108	[34]	41:44	[35]
6:96	[54]	45:20	[109]
6:98	[109]	47:19	[40]
6:115	[119]	47:35	[86]
6:126	[92]	48:4	[31]
6:139	[86]	50:16	[1]
7:16-7	[1]	50:37	[28] [33]
7:37	[27]	51:49	[17]
7:100	[34]	53:35	[32]
7:129	[125]	58:11	[52]
7:171	[17]	58:19	[1]
7:179	[111]	63:7	[110]
7:201	[15]	65:2	[74]
8:17	[121]	65:3	[74]
8:29	[73]	66:4	[36]
9:74	[36]	82:6-7	[17]
10:7	[109]	82:14	[49]
11:14	[40]	82:16	[49]
11:20	[33]	83:14	[12]
11:24	[33]	85:22	[59]
11:34	[33]	91:7-8	[1]
12:21	[136]	95:4	[17]
13:28	[31]	114:4	[1] [9]
15:75	[67]		
16:90	[98]		
18:102	[32]		

APPENDIX V: A TABLE OF *ĀYĀT*¹

ĀYĀH						
Divine Part (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
God "sends down" the <i>āyāt</i>	Man under- stands the meaning of the <i>āyāt</i>	The organ of understanding	The meanings of the <i>āyāt</i>	The human response	The immediate consequence	The final result
<i>Tanzīl</i>	' <i>aqla</i>	<i>lubb</i> (pl. <i>alḥāb</i>)	[A] <i>ni'māb</i>	[a] <i>tasdiq</i>	[I] <i>shukr</i> (A+a)	<i>imān</i> (I, II)
	<i>fabima</i>		<i>rahīmāb</i>			
	<i>faqīha</i>	<i>qalb</i> (fu'ād)	etc.			
	<i>tafakkara</i>		(<i>tabṣīr</i>)	[b] <i>takdīb</i>	[II] <i>taqwa</i> (B+a)	<i>kufṛ</i> (III)
	<i>tadhakkara</i>		[B] <i>intiḡām</i>			
	<i>tawassama</i>		' <i>iqāb</i>			
	etc.		' <i>adhāb</i>		[III] <i>kufṛ</i> (A,B+b)	
			<i>sakhat</i>			
			etc.			
			(<i>indlār</i>)			

¹ *God and Man*, 136.

APPENDIX VI: A LIST OF THE NAMES IN THE 'ILM

Notes: The first number indicates the number of time(s) the name appears in the *'Ilm* and the second number indicates the number of times it appears in the *Qūt*, according to the indexes of the 1964 edition of the *'Ilm* and the *Nahrung*.¹ The full name and death year follow Gramlich's description. The names, which do not appear in the *Qūt*, are indicated with underline.²

[A]

Aaron: 3 / 6

‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68/687): 15 / 168

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Awn Arṭabān al-Muzanī al-Baṣrī (d. 151/768): 2 / 3

‘Abd Allāh Ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 32/653): 8 / 138

‘Abd Allāh b. Mubārak al-Ḥanḍalī al-Tamīmī (d. 181/797): 5 / 45

‘Abd Allāh al-Rāzī al-Sha‘rānī: 1 / none

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 74/693-4): 4 / 113

‘Abd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm: see Ibn Umm Maktūm

‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Fihri al-Qurashī al-Miṣrī (d. 197/812-3): 1 / 2

‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dabbāgh: 1 / none

‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qushayrī, Abū Naṣr al-Tammār (d. 228/842): 1 / 3

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Aswad: 1 / 1

‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd al-Baṣrī (d. ca. 150/767): 3 / 14

Abraham: 5 / 30

Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Dīnawarī: 1 / none

Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Shibārī (?) [الشباري]: 1 / none

Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Zawzanī: 8 / none

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Dīnawarī: 1 / none

Abū ‘Alī al-Jurjānī: 1 / none

Abū ‘Alī al-Rūziyārī (?) [الروزياري]: 4 / none

Abū ‘Alī b. al-Kātib: 2 / none

Abū ‘Alī al-Karkhī: 1 / none

¹ *'Ilm* (1964), 295-303 [index]; *Nahrung*, 4.49-268 [index].

² The list does not include the Prophet Muḥammad, since he appears too many times in the *Qūt* for Gramlich to include him in the index.

Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir al-Abharī (d. ca. 330/941-2): 2 / 1

Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī: 1 / none

Abū Bakr al-Naqqāsh: 3 / none

Abū Bakr al-Raqī (?) [الرقى]: 1 / none

Abū Bakr al-Shiblī: see al-Shiblī

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Quḥāfa ‘Uthmān b. ‘Āmir (d. 13/634): 8 / 61

Abū Bakr b. Ṭāhir: see Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir

Abū Bakr al-Warrāq: see Warrāq

Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī: 4 / none

Abū Bakr b. Yazdāynār (?) [يزداينار]: 1 / none

Abū Damdam (?) [ضمضم]: 1 / none

Abu’l-Dardā’ ‘Uwaymir b. Zayd al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī (d. ca. 32/652-3): 2 / 76

Abū Dharr Jundab b. junāda b. Sufyān al-Ghifārī (d. 32/652): 1 / 32

Abu’l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī: see al-Bustī

Abū Ḥafṣ al-Naysābūrī al-Ḥaddād, ‘Amr b. Salama (d. ca. 265/878-9): 2 / 2

Abū Hamzat al-Khurāsānī: 1 / none

Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit al-Taymī al-Kūfī (d. 150/767): 1 / 4

Abū Hurayra ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣaḥr al-Dawsī al-Yamanī (d. ca. 58/677-8): 9 / 89

Abu’l-Hasan al-‘Alawī al-Hamzānī: 2 / none

Abu’l-Hasan al-Utrūsh (?) [الأطروش]: 1 / none

Abu’l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī: see al-Nūrī

Abū Ja‘far al-Nīsābūrī: 3 / (?)¹

Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfa al-‘Adawī (d. ca. 70/689-90): 1 / 1

Abu’l-Khayr al-Aqṭa‘ al-Tinātī, ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 349/960-1): 1 / 1

Abū Mūsā al-Dawlā (?) [الدولى]: 5 / none

Abū Naṣr al-Tammār: see ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qushayrī

Abū Razīn al-‘Uqaylī, Laqīṭ b. ‘Āmir b. al-Muntafiq b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Uqayl: 2 / 4

Abū Sa‘īd al-Kharrāz: see al-Kharrāz

¹ An ‘Abū Ja‘far’ appears once in the *Qūt*; however, it is not clear if they are the same person (*Nahrung*, 4.64 [index]).

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Saʿd b. Mālik b. Sinān al-Khazrajī (d. ca. 74/693): 2 / 29

Abū Saʿīd al-Nīsābūrī (d. 406/1015 or 407/1016): 5 / none

Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī: see al-Dārānī

Abū Tālib al-Makkī: 45 / none

Abū Thawrīn (?) [ثورين] ʿAlī: 1 / none

Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī, Ṣudayy b. ʿAjlān b. Wahb (d. ca. 86/705): 4 / 10

Abū ʿUthmān al-Maghribī: 4 / none

Abū ʿUthmān al-Zāhid: 1 / 1(?)¹

Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, Ṭayfūr b. ʿĪsā b. Surushān (d. ca. 261/874-5): 36 / 26

Adam: 5 / 39

ʿAjam bt. al-Nafīs al-Baghdādiyya: 1 / none

Aḥmad b. Abīʿl-Ḥawārī: see Ibn Abīʿl-Ḥawārī

Aḥmad b. ʿĀṣim al-Anṭākī, Abū ʿAlī (or Abū ʿAbd Allāh) (d. 220/835): 3 / 3

Aḥmad b. ʿAṭāʾ, Abuʿl-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad (d. ca. 309/921-2): 9 / 5

Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī al-Wāʿilī (d. 241/855): 3 / 100

Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-ʿAlawī: 2 / none

Aḥnaf b. Qays, al-Ḍaḥḥāk: 2 / 16

ʿĀʾisha bt. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (d. 58/678): 4 / 102

ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib (d. 40/661): 22 / 192

ʿAlī b. al-Jahm: 1 / none

ʿAlī al-Khawwās: 1 / none

ʿAlīyān (?) [عليان] al-Majnūn: 1 / none

ʿAmmār b. Yāsir al-Kinānī al-Madhḥijī (d. 37/657): 1 / 9

ʿĀmir b. Sālih: 1 / none

ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī, Abū ʿAmr (d. 103/721): 2 / 22

Anas b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī (d. ca. 91/709): 6 / 109

(al-)Anṭākī: see Aḥmad b. ʿĀṣim al-Anṭākī

(al-)Awzāʿī: 1 / none

¹ This person might be the same as Abū ʿUthmān al-Ḥirī al-Rāzī al-Wāʿiz, who appears once in the *Qūt*, but it is not certain (*ibid.*, 4.68).

Ayyūb b. Mūsā: 1 / none

[B]

Banū Isrā'īl: 5 / none

Bilāl b. Sa'īd: 1 / none

Bandār b. al-Husayn: 1 / none

Bishr al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥāfī (d. 227/841): 4 / 111

Buhlūl (or Bahlūl): 2 / none

(al-)Būshanjī, Abu'l-Hasan: 1 / none

(al-)Bustī, Abu'l-Fath 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. ca. 401/1011): 1 / none

[C]

Christians: 2 / 11

[D]

(al-)Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim al-Hilālī al-Balkhī (d. 105-6/723-5): 2 / 13

(al-)Dārānī, Abū Sulaymān 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad (d. ca. 215/830): 8 / 80

David: 14 / 38

Dāwūd b. 'Alī: 1 / 1

Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Abu'l-Fayḍ al-Ikhmīmī (d. 245/860): 19 / 21

[E]

Ezra: 1 / 4

[F]

Farqad al-Sabakhī (or al-Shinjī?) (d. 131/748-9): 1 / none

Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad (11/632-3): 1 / 6

Fāṭima bt. Qays: 1 / 1

Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ al-Tamīmī al-Khurāsānī (d. 178/803): 6 / 46

[H]

(al-)Hajjāj b. Ghirāfaṣa: 1 / none

(al-)Ḥallāj, al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr (d. 309/922): 6 / 1

(al-)Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī: see al-Muḥāsibī

Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809): 3 / 6

(al-)Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 49/669): 3 / 22

(al-)Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abū Sa‘īd (d. 110/728): 8 / 203

(al-)Hasan b. Muḥammad al-Qalānisī: 2 / none

Ḥātim b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭā’ī: 1 / 1

Ḥātim al-Aṣamm, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 237/851-2): 6 / 1

(al-)Ḥayyān حيان al-Majnūn: 1 / 1

(al-)Haytham, Abū Ṣālih: 2 / none

Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān (d. 36/656): 2 / 39

(al-)Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh: 1 / 1

(al-)Husayn b. al-Faḍl: 2 / none

(al-)Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj: see al-Ḥallāj

(al-)Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Khushanāmī (?) [الخشنامي]: 1 / none

(al-)Hurūriyya: 1 / none

(al-)Ḥusrī, Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 371/982): 1 / none

[I]

Iblīs: 7 / 24

Ibn Abī’l-Ḥawārī, Abū’l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Maymūn (d. ca. 230/844-5): 4 / 19

Ibn ‘Aṭā’: see Aḥmad b. ‘Aṭā’

Ibn ‘Awn: see ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Awn

Ibn Ḥabīr (?) [حبير], ‘Abd Allāh: 1 / none

Ibn Umm Maktūm, ‘Abd Allāh b. Qays al-Aṣamm (d. ca. 33/644): 1 / 1

Ibn Rāhūya, Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq al-Ḥanzalī al-Marwazī (d. 238/853): 1 / 4

Ibn Wahb: see ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb

Ibrāhīm b. Adham b. Maṣṣūr, Abū Ishāq (d. c.162/778-9): 2 / 46

Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl al-Khawwāṣ, Abū Ishāq (d. c.291/903-4): 1 / 20

Ibrāhīm b. Asbāt: 1 / none

Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl: see Abraham

Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ: see Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl al-Khawwāṣ

Ibrāhīm b. Rustum: 1 / none

Ibrāhīm b. Shaybān al-Qirmīsīnī, Abū Ishāq (d. c.300/912): 2 / 1

Ibrāhīm al-Taymī: see Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd b. Sharik al-Taymī

Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd b. Sharik al-Taymī al-Kūfī, Abū Asmā’ (d. 92/710-11): 1 / 7

‘Isā b. Ādam: 1 / none

‘Isā b. Ahmad: 1 / none

‘Isā b. Muhammad b. ‘Isā: 1 / none

‘Isām b. Talīq: 1 / none

Ishāq b. Rāhūya: see Ibn Rāhūya

[J]

Jacob: 1 / 7

Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Khuldī (d. 348/959-60): 7 / 2

Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765): 12 / 15

Ja‘far b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī al-‘Abbās (d. 174-5/790-2): 1 / 4

Jahmiyya: 1 / 4

Jesus: 16 / 74

Jew: 2 / 14

Jibrīl: 1 / 29

John the Baptist: 6 / 5

Joseph: 2 / 12

Junayd b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, Abu’l-Qāsim (d. 297/910): 18 / 58

[K]

Ka‘b al-Aḥbār al-Ḥimyarī (d. ca. 32/652-3): 2 / 20

Kamīl b. Ziyād: 2 / none

(al-)Kattānī: 3 / none

(al-)Khaḍir, Abu'l-‘Abbās: 3 / 25

(al-)Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhidī al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (d. ca. 175/791): 2 / 2

Khārija b. Muṣ‘ab: 1 / none

(al-)Kharrāz, Abū Sa‘īd Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā al-Baghdādī (d. 277/890-1): 1 / 10

(al-)Khayr al-Nassāj: 1 / none

Korah: 1 / 4

[L]

Luqmān b. al-Ḥakīm: 5 / 24

[M]

Magi: 1 / 4

Majnūn Banī ‘Āmir, Qays b. al-Mulūh: 1 / none

Mālīk b. Anas al-Aṣbaḥī al-Ḥimyarī (d. 179/795): 1 / 28

Mālīk b. Dīnār, Abū Yaḥyā (d. ca. 131/748-9): 7 / 28

Manṣūr b. ‘Ammār: 3 / 3

Ma‘rūf b. Fayrūz al-Karkhī (d. 200/815-6): 3 / 15

Mathī‘ira (?) [مثير]: 1 / none

Michael: 1 / 6

Mis‘ar b. Kudām (?) [كدام]: 1 / none

Miqdār al-Kindī: 1 / none

Moses: 14 / 73

Mu‘ādh b. Jabal al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī (d. 18/639): 4 / 30

Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (d. 60/680): 2 / 13

Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī (d. 104/722): 1 / 47

Muḥammad b. Wāsi‘ al-Akhnas al-Azdī (d. ca. 123/740-1): 2 / 8

(al-)Muḥāsibī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥārith (d. 243/857): 1 / 7

Murji’a: 1 / 5

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba al-Asadī (d. 141/758-9): 1 / 1

Muṭarrif b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Shikhhār (d. ca. 87/706): 1 / 11

Muwaffaq al-Zāhid: 1 / none

Muzaffar al-Qarmisbitī (?) [القرمسيبي]: 1 / none

[N]

(al-)Nūrī, Abu’l Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 295/907-8): 2 / 3

[P]

Pharaoh: 1 / 8

Polytheists: 1 / 1

[Q]

(al-)Qardī (?) [القرضي]: 1 / none

(al-)Qassār (?) [القصار]: 1 / none

[R]

(al-)Rābi‘ b. Anas al-Bakrī al-Baṣrī al-Khurāsānī (d. ca. 139-40/756-8): 1 / 1

(al-)Rābi‘ b. Sulaymān al-Murādī al-Miṣrī al-Mu’adhdhin (d. 270/884): 1 / 3

Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya (d. 185/801): 3 / 14

(al-)Rāfida: 1 / none

Rustum Aḥmad al-Tharwānī: 1 / none

[S]

(al-)Sābi’a: 1 / none

Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh b. al-Nu‘mān al-Ashhalī (d. 5/626-7): 1 / 1

Sahl al-Tustarī, Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 283/896): 19 / 201

Salamān al-Fārisī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh (d. 35-6/655-7): 2 / 14

Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī (d. 266/880): 1 / 3

Ṣāliḥ b. Haythum: 1 / none

Sarī b. Mujallis al-Saqāṭī (d. ca. 251/865): 1 / 36

(al-)Sha‘bī: see ‘Āmir b. Sharāḥīl

Shāfi‘ī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs (d. 204/820): 19 / 27

Shaqīq al-Balkhī al-Azdī, Abū ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 194/810): 2 / 9

(al-)Shaybān al-Rā‘ī (d. 158/774-5): 1 / 2

(al-)Shiblī, Abū Bakr: 18 / none

Solomon: 5 / 22

Sufyān b. ‘Ayniyya: 1 / none

Sufyān b. Sa‘īd al-Thawrī (d. 161/777-8): 12 / 152

[T]

Tāhir al-Maqdisī: 1 / none

Thābit b. Aslam al-Bunānī al-Baṣrī (d. ca. 127/744-5): 1 / 12

(al-)Tirmidhīk Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm (d. ca. 300/912): 1 / 1

[U]

Ubayy b. Ka‘b b. Qays b. ‘Ubayd al-Khazrajī al-Madanī (d. ca. 19/640): 1 / 18

‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qurashī: 1 / none

‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Umawī al-Qurashī (d. 99-101/717-20): 2 / 18

‘Umar b. ‘Āss: 1 / none

‘Umar b. Hafṣ: 1 / none

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644): 16 / 173

‘Umar b. Muḥammad: 1 / none

Umm Hānī’ bt. Abū Ṭālib al-Hāshimiyya: 1 / 2

Umm Qays: 1 / 1

Umm Sharīk: 1 / none

Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-‘Uzzā al-Kalbī, Abū Muḥammad (d. 54/673-4): 1 / 5

‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (d. 35/656): 1 / 31

‘Uthmān b. Maz‘ūn: 1 / none

[W]

Wahb b. Munabbih al-Yamānī al-Anbārī (d. ca. 110/728-9): 3 / 25

Warrāq, Abū Bakr al-Balkhī al-Tirmidhī al-Ḥakīm (d. ca. 294/906-7): 2 / 1

Wahayb b. al-Ward al-Ḥaḍramī al-Makkī (d. 153/770): 1 / 20

[Y]

Yaḥyā b. Aktham al-Tamīmī al-Qāḍī (d. ca. 242/857): 1 / 4

Yaḥyā al-Mawṣilī: 1 / none

Yaḥyā b. Mu‘āḍ al-Rāzī al-Wā‘iẓ (d. 258/872): 16 / 16

Yazīd b. Hārūn al-Sulamī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 206/821-2): 1 / 5

Yazīd Tayfūr b. ‘Isā b. Sūrshān (?) [سورشان]: 1 / none

Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ al-Shaybānī (d. ca. 195/810-1): 1 / 34

[Z]

Zayd b. Thābit b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Anṣārī al-Kātib (d. ca. 45/665-6): 1 / 10

Zayn al-Ābidīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. ca. 94/712-13): 2 / 8

**APPENDIX VII: A TABLE OF MOST FREQUENTLY CITED AUTHORITIES
IN THE *QŪT* AND THE *‘ILM*¹**

<i>Qūt al-qulūb</i>	<i>‘Ilm al-qulūb</i>
around 200 times	over 35 times
‘Alī Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī Sahl al-Tustarī	Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī
around 150-170 times	around 20 times
Ibn al-‘Abbās Sufyān al-Thawrī ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb	‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Dhu’l-Nūn al-Miṣrī al-Junayd Sahl al-Tustarī al-Shāfi‘ī al-Shiblī
around 100-130 times	around 15 times
‘Ā’isha Anas b. Mālik Bishr al-Ḥāfi Ibn Ḥanbal Ibn Mas‘ūd Ibn ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb	‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb Yaḥyā b. Mu‘aḍ Ibn al-‘Abbās
	over 10 times
	Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq Sufyān al-Thawrī

¹ The highlighted figures are those who are not most-cited authorities in the other work.

**APPENDIX VIII: A TABLE OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IN
AL-HIDĀYA AND THE QŪT**

Ibn Bāqūdā – <i>al-Hidāya</i>	Al-Makkī – the <i>Qūt</i>
<i>tawhīd</i>	repentance (<i>tawba</i>)
contemplation (<i>iʿtibār</i>)	patience (<i>ṣabr</i>)
obedience (<i>tāʿa</i>)	gratitude (<i>shukr</i>)
total reliance (<i>tawakkul</i>)	hope (<i>rajāʾ</i>)
sincere devotion (<i>ikhhlāṣ</i>)	fear (<i>khawf</i>)
humility (<i>tawāḍuʿ</i>)	renunciation (<i>zuhd</i>)
repentance (<i>tawba</i>)	total reliance (<i>tawakkul</i>)
self-examination (<i>muḥāsibat al-nafs</i>)	contentment (<i>riḍāʾ</i>)
renunciation (<i>zuhd</i>)	love (<i>maḥabba</i>)
love (<i>maḥabba</i>)	---

APPENDIX IX: THE RELIGIOUS IDEA OF KNOWLEDGE IN *AL-HIDĀYA* IN COMPARISON WITH THAT OF THE *QŪT* – ‘*ILM* AND *MA‘RIFA*

Two types of knowledge (‘*ilm* and *ma‘rifa*) are often discussed in the Sufi tradition. The former designates acquired, intellectual knowledge, while the latter signifies gnosis or mystical knowledge which is bestowed through first-hand experience of God.¹ Al-Makkī has a chapter on knowledge, where he elucidates its various types and levels, and states that ‘one possessing *ma‘rifa* and religious certainty is the one obtaining knowledge through God Most High’.² This section explores how these concepts are viewed in *al-Hidāya*, in order to examine whether Ibn Bāqūdā differentiates between these terms as in the *Qūt*.

According to Ibn Bāqūdā, one of the most sublime blessings which God bestowed upon humans³ is knowledge (‘*ilm*).⁴ This knowledge is ‘life for their hearts and light for their understandings, and [acts as] the guide for them to the contentment of God ... and the guardian for them against His displeasure in this world and the hereafter’.⁵ Ibn Bāqūdā identifies three branches of knowledge: physics, mathematics and spiritual knowledge of God (‘*ilm al-ilāhī*). The first two concern this world and the body, while the last deals with religion and God specifically. The latter is more important than the former two and it is obligatory for

¹ A good summary of this distinction can be found in *Knowledge* (xi-xiii, 7) and *Kashf* (382-3).

² *Qūt*, 1.363-489 (the citation is from 393).

³ الناطقون : rational beings, or more literally, beings which are endowed with the faculty of speech and reason (*Hidāja*, 3 [Arabic]). Cf. Mansoor renders this as ‘men’ (*Direction*, 85).

⁴ Mansoor translates it as ‘wisdom’ here. He renders this word as ‘knowledge’ and ‘science’ in different places (*ibid.*, 85-6). There is a section on *ḥikma* in chapter 2 of *al-Hidāya*, which he translates it as ‘wisdom’ (*ibid.*, 158-60; *Hidāja*, 103-5 [Arabic]). In order to avoid confusion with ‘wisdom (*ḥikma*)’, here ‘*ilm*’ is rendered as ‘knowledge’ or ‘science’ according to the context.

⁵ *Hidāja*, 4 [Arabic].

believers to seek this supreme knowledge in order to understand their belief.¹

Al-Makkī, likewise, states that knowledge is ‘the life of hearts’² which is ‘the word of the Beloved’.³ Knowledge is light which God casts into the heart⁴ and seeking the knowledge of the heart is obligatory for believers.⁵ Both Ibn Bāqūdā and al-Makkī state that inner knowledge is more important than external knowledge. *Al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* agree that the exterior and interior of knowledge accord with the outward and inward of the human being, namely the body and the heart. Both books state that these two aspects of knowledge are considered to be expressed also by the tongue and the heart.

Ibn Bāqūdā insists that the sincere declaration of *tawḥīd* to God has to be done both by the heart and the tongue. Believing in God by the tongue alone is not true faith, as it lacks certainty in the heart. The tongue here represents an exoteric aspect of religious knowledge which stands in contrast to knowledge of the heart.⁶ A similar trend can be seen in the *Qūt*. Al-Makkī argues that outer knowledge relates to the earth and those possessing this type of knowledge pertain to the tongue, while inner knowledge connects with heaven and those possessing this knowledge pertain to the heart.⁷

In *al-Hidāya*, Ibn Bāqūdā divides believers into four categories in the matter

¹ *Ibid.*, 4-5 [Arabic].

² *Qūt*, 1.377-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 3.1209.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.412.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.364.

⁶ *Hidāja*, 38-40 [Arabic].

⁷ *Qūt*, 1.436.

of *tawḥīd*. The first group of believers declare the *tawḥīd* of God by the tongue only. The second declare it by the heart and the tongue together, but it comes merely from their blind acceptance of tradition. The third category of believers declare the *tawḥīd* by both the heart and the tongue after rational speculation of the matter, but still lack the knowledge of its true meaning. The last and highest category of believers assert the Divine *tawḥīd* with the heart and the tongue after logically verifying the issue, and have the understanding of its reality.¹

The importance of rational speculation is emphasised throughout *al-Hidāya*. At the same time, it is admitted that reason is not a perfect tool; it can fail to understand the real meaning of God. The highest rank of believers in the matter of *tawḥīd* finds an echo in the highest stage of belief, love for God. This pure love can be achieved after passing through all duties and virtues which are reachable by reasoning, the Scripture and tradition.² *Al-Hidāya* begins with a rationalistic approach, but then gradually values experiential methods, for instance repentance and renunciation, which lead to love for God. The basis of the argument of *al-Hidāya* seems to be on the acknowledgement of Ibn Bāqūdā that real understanding of the Divine is not achievable only by the way of logic or external knowledge of this world.

¹ *Hidāja*, 39-40 [Arabic]. Cf. In the *ʿIlm*, it is stated that external knowledge has to come with *taqwā*, otherwise it will be a gate to this world and lust. This outward aspect of religious knowledge is from the tongue, while internal knowledge is from the heart. Believers can be divided into four different groups in the matter of knowledge and wisdom. In the first group, believers' knowledge is from the tongue and they are ignorant in the heart, while the second group of believers possess knowledge in the heart but are ignorant with the tongue. The third type of believers are those who are knowledgeable both in the heart and with the tongue, while the last group are ignorant in both ways (*ʿIlm*, 53, 61-2).

² *Hidāja*, 378 [Arabic].

In the matter of logic, al-Makkī insists more strongly that knowledge from reasoning is a mere created being and does not lead a believer to knowledge of the Creator. Religious certainty can be achieved from gnosis, fear and love, but not intellectual speculation.¹

Concerning the opposite concept of knowledge, ignorance (*jahl*), Ibn Bāqūdā condemns a believer's ignorance throughout his book as lacking obedience to God.² Likewise, al-Makkī disapproves of the state of ignorance and insists that knowledge of God is the most important action in faith.³ Both Ibn Bāqūdā and al-Makkī have a low opinion of blind acceptance of tradition and the *Qūt* asserts that a follower of the heart and internal knowledge will not follow scholars' opinion heedlessly.⁴

As for another type of knowledge, gnosis (*ma'rifa*), Ibn Bāqūdā appears to differentiate this concept from *'ilm*. The term *ma'rifa* and its derivatives appear often in the first chapter on *tawhīd*. Ibn Bāqūdā explains that the essence and meaning of God are inconceivable for humans, but He has made himself knowable (*ta'arrafa*) to us through human faculties of reason and understanding, and also through the ancestors. It is impossible to perceive God through bodily senses. Ibn Bāqūdā identifies two paths to gnosis: the one is reason, by following God's exoteric traces in

¹ *Qūt*, 1.337, 480. Cf. In the *'Ilm*, a saying of Dhu'l-Nūn is quoted in regard to reason and faith, and explains the impotence of reason. Reason is a tool which can be used to raise the status of a believer but not to reach the Divine reality, since God can be knowable only by God (*'Ilm*, 101).

² Eg. *Hidāja*, 12 [Arabic].

³ *Qūt*, 1.367.

⁴ *Hidāja*, 17 [Arabic]; *Qūt*, 1.326.

His creatures; the other is tradition which is transmitted by venerable forefathers.¹

Ibn Bāqūdā continues that when believers reach the state where God is not found in their mind or sense as if He is inseparable from them, they have reached the utmost degree of His gnosis. Ibn Bāqūdā quotes a saying from those possessing gnosis, 'The more one knows through God, the more one is perplexed by Him'.² The same saying can be seen in the *Qūt* almost *verbatim*.³ Al-Makkī adds a few more sayings to emphasise the bewilderment and perplexity which believers encounter when they reach the utmost level of their belief.⁴ Ibn Bāqūdā states that the one who has knowledge of God recognises his ignorance of His true meaning, while the one who is ignorant believes that he has Divine knowledge. The nature of gnosis is in the acknowledgement of ignorance of the reality of His essence.⁵

In *al-Hidāya*, gnosis is treated as the goal of the path to the Divine.⁶ With the gnosis of God in the heart, all desires will be obliterated and a believer's heart will be filled with the light of pure love for God and yearning to obey Him.⁷ Ibn Bāqūdā appears to consider gnosis as the source of knowledge, which God has provided through various ways, and, at the same time, as the supreme stage of belief which can be reached after fulfilling religious obligations. A similar argument can be

¹ *Hidāja*, 78-9 [Arabic].

² أعرف الناس بالله أشدهم تحيرا فيه (*ibid.*, 82). By quoting this, Ibn Bāqūdā seems to anticipate Maimonides who wrote a famous book, *Guide of the Perplexed* (دلائل الحائرین).

³ أعرفهم به أشدهم تحيرا فيه (*Qūt*, 2.1120). Neither Ibn Bāqūdā nor al-Makkī mentions the source of their citation. According to Gramlich, al-Qushayrī attributes this saying to Dhu'l-Nūn (*Nahrung* 2.546).

⁴ *Qūt*, 2.1059, 1120.

⁵ *Hidāja*, 82 [Arabic]. Cf. The same argument can be seen in the *ʿIlm*, which also states that gnosis of Divine nature lies in ignorance (*ʿIlm*, 126, 136).

⁶ *Hidāja*, 92 [Arabic].

⁷ *Ibid.*, 393 [Arabic].

found in the *Qūt*. Gnosis is the essence of knowledge; it is its root. It is also, however, the fruit of Divine guidance and can be obtained at the highest stage of faith together with religious certainty.¹

On the whole, although different shades of emphasis are seen, the basic concepts of *ʿilm* and *maʿrifa* and their importance for believers can be said to be parallel in *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt*. Ibn Bāqūdā seems to differentiate between these two terms in accord with their general use among Sufis. He does not provide any definition or explanation on this matter unlike the *Qūt*, and the way of his application of the two concepts can be assumed only from the text. Varied views can be found between *al-Hidāya* and the *Qūt* in the function of reason. Even though Ibn Bāqūdā admits that rational speculation is not the absolute way to reach Divine knowledge, it is esteemed more highly in *al-Hidāya* than in the *Qūt*. Apart from this point, no contrasting, or contradicting, opinion can be seen among the two books on the matter of *ʿilm* and *maʿrifa*.

¹ *Qūt*, 1.383.

**APPENDIX X: A LIST OF MUSLIM SCHOLARLY WORKS ON AL-MAKKĪ,
FROM HIS TIME TO THE TWELFTH/EIGHTEENTH CENTURY**

Author	Title	Page(s)
al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988)	<i>Kitāb al-luma'</i>	N/A
al-Kalābādhī (d. ca. 385/995)	<i>al-Ta'arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf</i>	N/A
al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021)	<i>Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya</i>	N/A
Abū Nu'aym (d. 430/1038)	<i>Ḥilyat al-awliyā'</i>	N/A
Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066)	<i>al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn</i>	175-8, 186, 206
al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071)	<i>Ta'rīkh Baghdād</i>	3.89
al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1073)	<i>al-Risālat al-Qushayriyya</i>	N/A
Hujwīrī (d. between 465-9/1072-7)	<i>Kashf al-mahjūb</i>	N/A
al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111)	<i>Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn</i>	<i>passim</i>
	<i>al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl</i>	64
Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 507/1113)	<i>al-Ansāb al-muttafiqa</i>	153-4
'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166)	<i>al-Ghunya li-tālibī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq</i>	1.113-4? and others?
al-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1166)	<i>al-Ansāb</i>	541
Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200)	<i>al-Muntazam</i>	7.189-90
	<i>Ṣifat al-ṣifwa</i>	N/A
	<i>Talbīs Iblīs</i>	152, 164-5
	<i>Talqīḥ fuhūm ahl al-athar</i>	714-7
'Aṭṭār (d. ca. 620/1223)	<i>Tadhkirat al-awliyā'</i>	N/A
Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233)	<i>al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh</i>	7.183
al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234)	<i>'Awārīf al-ma'ārīf</i>	<i>passim</i>
Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240)	<i>Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam</i>	165
	<i>al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya</i>	<i>passim</i>
Rūmī (d. 672/1273)	<i>Mathnawī-i ma'nawī</i>	3.73, 6.423; cf. 1.58, 3.263, 4.356
Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282)	<i>Wafayāt al-a'yān</i>	4.303-4
Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh (d. 709/1309)	<i>Laṭā'if al-minan fī manāqib</i>	72
Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328)	<i>Majmū' fatāwā</i>	10.551, 11.579
Abu'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331)	<i>al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar</i>	2.131
al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352-3)	<i>al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghabar</i>	3.33-4; cf. 2.320

	<i>Miṣṣān al-i'tidāl</i>	3.655; cf. 1.431
	<i>Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'</i>	16.536-7
	<i>Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz</i>	N/A
	<i>Ta'rīkh al-Islām 381-400</i>	127-8
al-Ḥusaynī (d. 763/1362)	<i>Dhayl tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz</i>	N/A
al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363)	<i>al-Wāfī bi'l-wafayāt</i>	4.86-7
al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768/1367)	<i>Mir'āt al-janān</i>	2.430
Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373)	<i>al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya</i>	11.341
al-Rundī (d. 792/1390)	<i>al-Rasā'il al-ṣuḡhrā</i>	<i>passim</i>
[pseudo-]Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406)	<i>Shifā' al-sā'il</i>	70
Ibn al-Qunfudh (d. ca. 810/1407)	<i>Kitāb al-wafayāt</i>	222
Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449)	<i>Lisān al-miẓān</i>	5.297-8
al-Ḥāshimī al-Makkī (d. 871/1466)	<i>Laḥẓ al-alḥāz bi-dhayl ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz</i>	N/A
Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470)	<i>al-Nujūm al-zāhira</i>	4.175
Jāmī (d. 898/1492)	<i>Nafahāt al-uns</i>	121
al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)	<i>Dhayl ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz</i> (cited in al-Laknawī, <i>al-Raf' wa'l-takmīl</i>)	N/A (131-2)
al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565)	<i>al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā</i>	N/A
Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640)	information from Nasr	N/A
Ḥājī Khalīfa (aka Kātib Ḍelebi) (d. 1067/1657)	<i>Kashf al-zunūn</i>	2.319
Ibn al-'Imād (d. 1089/1678)	<i>Shadharāt al-dhahab</i>	3.120-1
Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791)	<i>Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn</i>	<i>passim</i>

APPENDIX XI: LISTS OF MODERN SCHOLARLY WORKS ON AL-MAKKĪ

i. General references (according to the alphabetical order of the author's name)

Author	Title	Page(s)/Title of an article
al-Baghdādī, Ismā'īl Bāshā	<i>Hadīyat al-‘arīfīn asmā’ al-mu‘allifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn</i>	2.55
Brockelmann, C.	<i>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</i>	1.217, SI.359-60
Findley, C.V.	<i>EI</i> (2 nd edn)	‘muḥāsaba’
Gardet, L.	<i>EI</i> (2 nd edn)	‘‘ālam’, ‘kalām’
Gilliot, C.	<i>EI</i> (2 nd edn)	‘ṭabakāt’
Kaḥḥāla, ‘Umar Riḍā	<i>Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn</i>	11.27-8
Laoust, H.	<i>EI</i> (2 nd edn)	‘Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal’
Massignon, L.	<i>EI</i> (1 st edn)	‘al-Makkī’, ‘Sālimīya’
	<i>EI</i> (2 nd edn)	‘Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī’, ‘Sālimiyya’
McAuliffe, J.D.	<i>Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān</i>	‘heart’
Melchert, C.	<i>EI</i> (3 rd edn)	‘asceticism’
Nettler, R.L.	<i>Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature</i>	‘Sūfī literature, prose’
Ohlander, E.S.	<i>EI</i> (3 rd edn)	‘action (‘amal), in Sūfism’, ‘Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sālim’
Pedersen, J.	<i>EI</i> (2 nd edn)	‘Ḥulmāniyya’
Radtke, B.	<i>Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature</i>	‘al-Makkī’, ‘Sahl al-Tustarī’
Renard, J.	<i>Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān</i>	‘despair’
Sezgin, F.	<i>Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums</i>	1.666-7
Vadet, J.C.	<i>EI</i> (2 nd edn)	‘kalb’
al-Ziriklī, Khayr al-Dīn	<i>al-A‘lām</i>	7.159-60
N/A	<i>Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis: Central Asia and Middle East</i>	‘al-Makkī’, ‘Nasafi, Aziz ibn Muhammad’
N/A	<i>Encyclopaedia of Sufism</i>	3.30
N/A	<i>Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>	‘Sālimīya’, ‘Shādhilīya’, ‘taṣawwuf’

ii. Modern scholarly works on al-Makkī in Islamic and Jewish Studies
(according to the first publication year)

Year	Author	Title	Page(s) ¹
1874	Kaufmann, D.	‘Die Theologie des Bachja ibn Pakuda’, in <i>Gesammelte Schriften</i> 2, ed. M. Braun	7 n. 1
1899	Goldziher, I.	‘Materialien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Ṣūfismus’	<i>passim</i>
	MacDonald, D.B.	‘The Life of al-Ghazzali, with Especial Reference to his Religious Experiences and Opinions’	91
1904	Goldziher, I.	Review of <i>al-Hidāyā</i> by Yahuda	157
1912	Yahuda, A.S.	Introduction to <i>al-Hidāja</i> by Ibn Bāqūdā	<i>passim</i> , esp. 59 n. 1, 97-8
1914	Nicholson, R.A.	Introduction to <i>The Kitāb al-luma’ fi’l-taṣawwuf</i> by al-Sarrāj	ii, viii, xi
1922	Massignon, L.	<i>Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane</i>	63, 134, 199, 246, 279, 297-300
1928	Smith, M.	<i>Rābi’a the Mystic</i>	xiv, 47, 50-1, 58 <i>et passim</i>
1931	Smith, M.	<i>Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East</i>	<i>passim</i>
1932	MacDonald, D.B.	‘The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam II’	157
1933	Wensinck, A.J.	‘On the Relation between Ghazālī’s Cosmology and his Mysticism’	191-2
1935	Arberry, A.J.	Introduction to <i>The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs</i> by al-Kalābādhī	xiii, xv
	Smith, M.	<i>An Early Mystic of Baghdad</i>	27, 239, 259, 269
1937	Smith, M.	Review of <i>The Doctrine of the Sufis</i> by Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī by A.J. Arberry	1169
1939	Laoust, H.	<i>Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī al-dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya</i>	82, 90, 172 n. 2
1940	Mahmoud, A.	<i>Al-Moḥāsibī</i>	53
	Wensinck, A.J.	<i>La pensée de Ghazzālī</i>	128
[1942]	Arberry, A.J.	<i>An Introduction to the History of Ṣūfism</i>	20, 26
1947	Vajda, G.	<i>La théologie ascétique de Bahya ibn Paquda</i>	<i>passim</i> , esp.

¹ Which mention al-Makkī.

			22-3, 62-7, 99 n. 4, 105-10
1949	Abd-el-Jalil, J.	<i>Aspects intérieurs de l'Islam</i>	171, 228 n. 193
1950	Arberry, A.J.	<i>Sufism</i>	68-9
	Chouraqui, A.	Préface to <i>Les devoirs du cœur</i> by Ibn Bāqūdā	xi
	Smith, M.	<i>Reading from the Mystics of Islam</i>	44-6
1953	Pedersen, J.	'The Criticism of the Islamic Preacher'	<i>passim</i>
1956	Khan, Y.H.	'Sufism in India'	248
1959	Rahman, F.	Review of <i>Rasā'il</i> ed. P. Nwyia	584
1960	Laoust, H.	'Le Hanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides'	35
1961	Anawati, G.C.	<i>Mystique Musulmane</i>	34, 41, 47, 50, 149, 165 n. 20, 195 n. 36
	van Ess	<i>Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārīṭ al-Muḥāsibī</i>	139
	Nwyia, P.	<i>Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda</i>	<i>passim</i>
1962	Abdel-Kader, A.H.	Introduction to <i>The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd</i>	xiv
	Watt, W.M.	<i>Islamic Philosophy and Theology</i>	109
1963	Watt, W.M.	<i>Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazālī</i>	110-11
1965	Izutsu, T.	<i>The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology</i>	40
	Laoust, H.	<i>Les schismes dans l'Islam</i>	161
1968	Goitein, S.D.	'A Plea for the Periodization of Islamic History'	225
	Watt, W.M.	'Some Mystics of the Later Third/Ninth Century'	311
1971	al-Qūwatlī, Ḥ.	Introduction to <i>al-'Aql wa-fahm al-Qur'ān</i> by al-Muḥāsibī	34, 87-8, 90
1973	Mansoor, M.	Introduction to <i>The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart</i> by Ibn Bāqūdā	31-2, 77 n. 70
1974	Makdisi, G.	'The Hanbali School and Sufism'	67
1975	Lazarus-Yafeh, H.	<i>Studies in al-Ghazzali</i>	18-19, 34-5
	Massignon, L.	<i>La passion de Husayn Ibn Mansūr Hallāj</i>	1.78, 112, 265 n. 7, 422 n. 2, 495 n. 1
	Nasr, S.H.	'Ṣūfism', in <i>The Cambridge History of Iran</i> 4, ed. R.N. Frye	462
	Sartain, E.M.	<i>Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī</i>	2.3
	Schimmel, A.	<i>Mystical Dimensions of Islam</i>	85 <i>et passim</i>

1978	Gramlich, R.	Introduction to <i>Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse</i> by al-Suhrawardī	1
	Nasr, S.H.	<i>Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī and his Transcendent Theosophy</i>	74
1979	Bellamy, J.A.	‘Sex and Society in Islamic Popular Literature’, in <i>Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam</i> , ed. A.L. al-Sayyid-Marsot	27-8, 31, 35-6
1980	Böwering, G.	<i>The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam</i>	25-8 <i>et passim</i>
1983	Awn, P.J.	<i>Satan’s Tragedy and Redemption</i>	<i>passim</i>
	Calder, N.	Review of <i>al-Ġazālī, Le livre du licite et de l’illicite</i> by R. Morelon	210
	Goodman, L.E.	‘Bahya on the Antinomy of Free Will and Predestination’	119, 124-5
	Iqbal, A.	<i>The Life and Work of Jalal-ud-din Rumi.</i>	98-9
1985	Kinberg, L.	‘What is Meant by <i>zuhd</i> ’	35 <i>et passim</i>
1986	Renard, J.	Introduction to <i>Ibn ‘Abbād of Ronda</i>	30, 48
1987	Danner, V.	‘The Early Development of Sufism’, in <i>Islamic Spirituality 1</i> , ed. S.H. Nasr	260-1
1989	Baldick, J.	<i>Mystical Islam</i>	56, 65
	Chittick, W.C.	<i>The Sufi Path of Knowledge</i>	103, 413 n. 17
	Winter, T.J.	Introduction to <i>The Remembrance of Death and the After Life</i> by al-Ghazālī	xix
1993	Claude, A.	<i>Quest for the Red Sulphur</i> , trans. P. Kingsley	102-3
1995	Geoffroy, E.	<i>Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie</i>	487 n. 62, 496
1996	Renard, J.	<i>Seven Doors to Islam</i>	209-10
	Sells, M.A.	<i>Early Islamic Mysticism</i>	24
1997	Cooperson, M.	‘Ibn Ḥanbal and Bishr al-Ḥāfī: A Case Study in Biographical Traditions’	75, 81 n. 37
	van Ess, J.	<i>Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra</i>	4.8, 230, 244, 456, 584, 687, 735
1999	Goodman, L.E.	<i>Jewish and Islamic Philosophy</i>	77, 79
	Knysh, A.	<i>Islamic Mysticism</i>	121-2 <i>et passim</i>
2001	Khalidi, T.	<i>The Muslim Jesus</i>	138-9; cf. 86-7, 140-1
	Nelson, K.	<i>The Art of Reciting the Qur’an</i>	48, 53, 60-3, 73, 90-1, 97-9
2002	Goodman, L.E.	‘What does Spinoza’s <i>Ethics</i> Contribute to Jewish Philosophy?’	80 n. 19

	Nakamura, K.	<i>Isuramu-no shūkyō shisō: Gazārī-to sono shūhen</i> ('Religious Thought of Islam, with special attention to al-Ghazālī')	87-99 <i>et passim</i>
2003	Abrahamov, B.	<i>Divine Love in Islamic Mysticism</i>	34-6, 86
2004	Renard, J.	<i>Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism</i>	33-8, 114-263 <i>et passim</i>
2006	Mourad, S.A.	<i>Early Islam between Myth and History: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and the Formation of his Legacy in Classical Islamic Scholarship</i>	98-9, 102-5, 115, 241
2007	Abun-Nasr, J.M.	<i>Muslim Communities of Grace: The Sufi Brotherhoods in Islamic Religious Life</i>	41-2, 57
	Karamustafa, A.T.	<i>Sufism</i>	87-9 <i>et passim</i>
		'What is Sufism?', in <i>Voices of Islam</i> 1, ed. V.J. Cornell	258-9
	Lobel, D.	<i>A Sufi-Jewish Dialogue: Philosophy and Mysticism in Baḥya ibn Paqūda's Duties of the Heart</i>	196-200, 303 n. 85, 319 n. 27, 321 n. 61
	Madelung, W.	Review of <i>Early Islam between Myth and History</i> by Mourad	158
	Rauf, F.A.	'What is Sunni Islam', in <i>Voices of Islam</i> 1, ed. V.J. Cornell	207, 216 n. 36
2009	Reichmuth, S.	<i>The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732-91): Life, Networks and Writings.</i>	271, 289-90, 308

iii. Works on al-Makkī and translations of the *Qūt* (according to the publication year)

Year	Author	Title
1964/2004	‘Aṭā’	Introduction to <i>‘Ilm al-qulūb</i>
(1976) ¹	Shukri, M.A.M.	‘The Mystical Doctrine of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī as found in his Book <i>Qūt al-qulūb</i> ’
1978	Douglas, E.H.	‘The Beard’ [translation of ‘the beard’ from Section 36, <i>Qūt</i> 3.1316-24]
1984	Nakamura, K.	‘Makkī and Ghazālī on Mystical Practices’
1989	Shukri, M.A.M.	‘Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and his <i>Qūt al-qulūb</i> ’
(1991)	Amin, W.M. Azam	‘An Evaluation of the <i>Qūt al-qulūb</i> of al-Makkī with an annotated Translation of his <i>Kitāb al-tawba</i> ’ [incl. translation of ‘the first station: repentance’ from Section 32, <i>Qūt</i> 2.499-537]
1992-5	Gramlich, R.	<i>Die Nahrung der Herzen</i> [translation of the whole <i>Qūt</i>]
1997/2005	al-Kayyālī	Introduction to <i>Qūt al-qulūb</i> , 1 st and 2 nd edns
1999	Amin, W.M. Azam	‘Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī: A Traditional <i>Sūfī</i> ’
	Pūrjavādī	‘Bāzmāndahā-yi kitāb-i <i>al-Ishāra wa’l-‘ibāra</i> -i Abū Sa’d-i Khargūshī dar kitāb-i <i>‘Ilm al-qulūb</i> ’
2001	al-Raḍwānī	Introduction to <i>Qūt al-qulūb</i>
2004	Renard	<i>Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism</i> [incl. translation of Section 31 on knowledge, <i>Qūt</i> 1.363-489]

¹ Unpublished PhD thesis. This is the submission year.

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Abbreviations

<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>BSOS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i>
<i>IC</i>	<i>Islamic Culture</i>
<i>IS</i>	<i>Islamic Studies</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>The Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>

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